NATIONAL REVIEW

40 Cents

August 26, 1961

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Greenback Utopia

HENRY HAZLITT

Mr. Fulbright's Purge

JAMES BURNHAM

Whatsa Mater, America?

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . JOHN MORRESSY

RODNEY GILBERT • ALOISE HEATH • WILLIAM SCHULZ

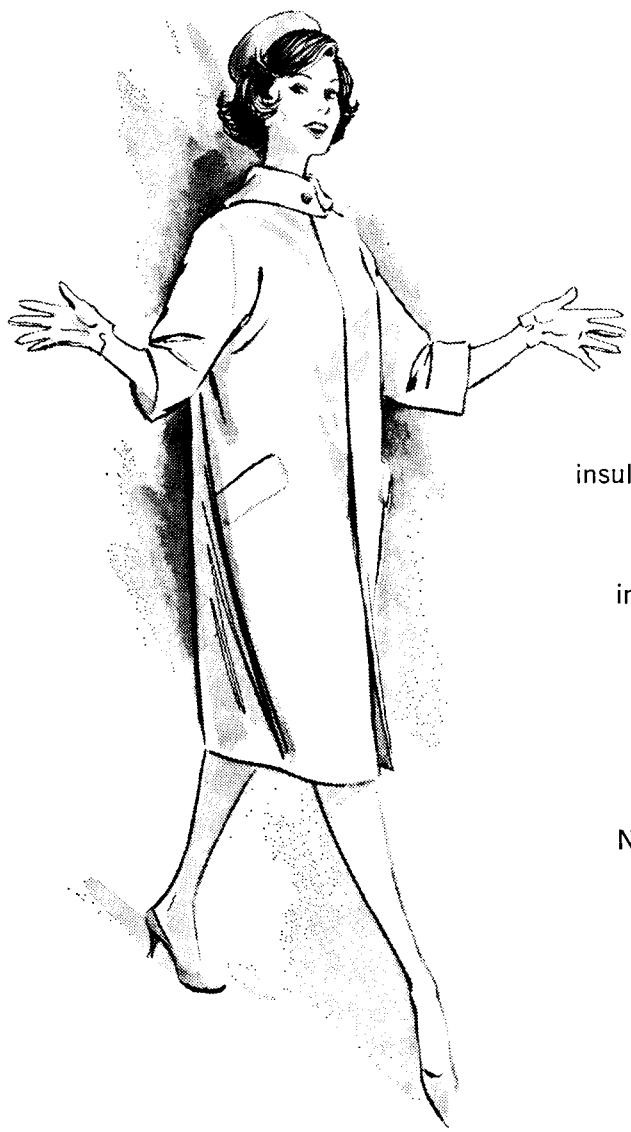
FRANK S. MEYER • DONALD COWAN • FRANCIS RUSSELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEXTILE RESEARCH PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN OUR FUTURE ECONOMY

LINE WITH MILIUM®...*for home-sewing ease and wearing pleasure*

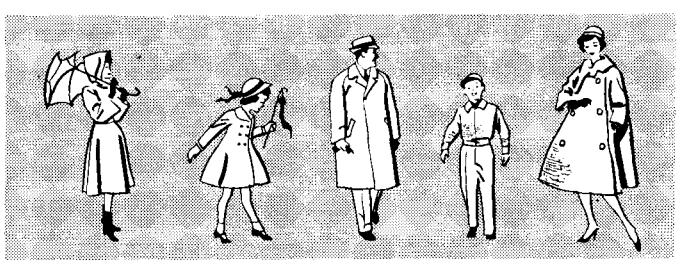
INSULATED FABRICS



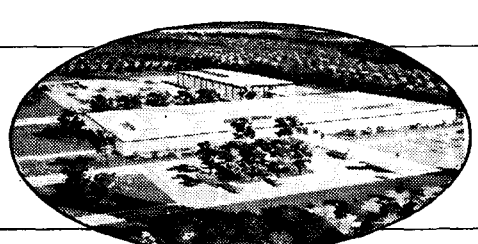
Why not insulate your fashions while you line them? The one-step sewing ease of **MILIUM®** linings puts insulation in your fashion creations . . . gives you greater warmth with less weight. It's the coating of insulative particles applied to one side of a Milium fabric that assures you of warmth-when-needed. Insist on Milium insulated linings . . . choose from a wide variety of taffetas, crepes, satins and twills . . . make sewing a pleasure and wearing a joy.

New this Fall . . . **MILIUM®** *plus,* the insulated foam laminated lining, offers cold climate warmth, shape retention, crease-resistance and added body.

And don't forget . . . you can find Milium® lined apparel in your favorite department and specialty stores. Coats . . . suits . . . jackets . . . and sportswear for your entire family are comfort-controlled with Milium.



MILIUM DIVISION • 1045 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK



Deering Milliken Research Corp., Spartanburg, S. C.

America's largest, most modern research facilities devoted exclusively to textile research.

®"MILIUM" is the registered trademark of Deering, Milliken, Inc. for insulated fabrics

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS
L. Brent Bozell, James Burnham
Willmoore Kendall, Frank S. Meyer
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

ASSOCIATES
Frank Chodorov, William F. Rickenbacker, Morrie Ryskind
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: David Franke

CONTRIBUTORS
C. D. Batchelor, Colm Brogan, John Chamberlain, John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Joan Didion, Medford Evans, M. Stanton Evans, Finis Farr, J. D. Futch, Henry Hazlitt, Aloise B. Heath, Hugh Kenner, James Jackson Kilpatrick, John D. Kreuttner, Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn, J. B. Matthews, Jonathan Mitchell, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer, Maureen B. O'Reilly, E. Merrill Root, Ralph de Toledano, Richard M. Weaver, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS
London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Charles J. McHugh
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Michael M. Mooney

CONTENTS AUGUST 26, 1961 VOL. XI, NO. 8

THE WEEK 109

The Strange Behavior of *America*
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. 114

ARTICLES, DEPARTMENTS

Trading with the Enemy .....William Schulz 116
Something New Added .....James Burnham 117
Greenback Utopia .....Henry Hazlitt 118
The Grinslingers .....John Morressy 121
One Step Forward, Two Steps Back
W. H. von Dreele 122
Enough of This Nonsense! .....Frank S. Meyer 123
The College and Authority .....Russell Kirk 124

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS

Red China: Hard Look from India ..Rodney Gilbert 125
Reasoning on Race .....Garry Wills 126
Coal Stoves and High Table .....Aloise Heath 127
Modern Creation Myth .....Donald Cowan 128
Herr Hamlet .....Francis Russell 130
Books in Brief 131

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc. at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn. (second class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.).

Copyright 1961 in the U.S.A. by National Review, Inc. All

manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). The 8-page issues are available separately at $10.00 a year. In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ **Henry Hazlitt,** one of the nation's foremost guardians of economic sanity, probes the "dazzlingly simple lesson from Western Europe" that suddenly revealed to Edwin L. Dale Jr. the path to Utopia, and finds it to be the same old inflationary road spiraling on to crisis and collapse. Mr. Hazlitt's most recent of many books is a volume of essays under his editorship, *The Failure of the New Economics,* that was published last winter . . . **John E. Morressy,** shifting his wad well up under his cheek, recounts the rough-and-tough adventure that befell when Rocky stepped up to the Hyannis Port Kid at the bar of the New Frontier saloon. Mr. Morressy is a high school teacher whose previous writings have been "action-adventure" stories and whose future works will include a serio-comic novel, about a high school teacher . . . . **W. H. von Dreele** puts his reflections on H.B., the general and the Bizerte tribulations into prose, this time, instead of his usual verse.

➔ The curious history of Senator Fulbright's now-you-see-it-now-you-don't Memorandum on brainwashing the military is **James Burnham's** topic . . . . **Frank Meyer,** taking the Titov space (or fancy) flight and the new Communist party program as texts, considers our simultaneous over- and under-estimation of our enemy . . . . **Russell Kirk** summons a set of recent books on religion, morality and education as witnesses against the conclusions preached by the Wellesley College chaplain on the relations among the three.

➔ **Rodney Gilbert** reviews the volume of a real live Indian anti-Communist, the eloquent Professor Chandra-sekhar . . . . **Garry Wills** looks ruefully at the effort, by Mr. Carleton Putnam, to generalize on appropriate political and social responses to putative differences among the races . . . . **Aloise Heath,** who is working ACTUALLY on a book, is glad she is not, like author Muriel Beadle, wife of an Oxford don . . . . Professor **Donald Cowan,** whose own specialties at the University of Dallas include Structure of Fluids and Solid State Physics, inspects four books on man and his universe, and speculates on the speculativeness of science . . . . **Francis Russell** writes hilariously about the problems of being blithe in Germany.

➔ The brief comments heretofore made by *NR* on the new Papal Encyclical, *Mater et Magistra,* seem to have stirred up a turbulence in the American Catholic community lively enough to have spilled over, already, into the general press. In a signed communication here printed in the editorial section, **William F. Buckley Jr.,** who is doubly involved, both as *NR's* editor-in-chief and as an individual Catholic layman, comments on the comments that were made on him and on *NR* by last week's issue of the leading Catholic journal of opinion, *America.* ➔

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IMPORTED BY NATIONAL DISTILLERS PRODUCTS COMPANY, NEW YORK. SOLE U.S. DISTRIBUTORS • BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY. 86.8 PROOF.

Lightness is only one quality of real Scotch whisky

A Scotch whisky which offers lightness, but little else, simply isn't in the tradition of Scotland's finest distillations. The true Scotch whisky must also give you that deep, mellow, satisfying flavor which is the mark of Genuine Highland Character. Such a Scotch is Vat 69. If you haven't tried it lately, you're in for a pleasant surprise. Taste it tonight.

One Scotch Stands Out...Vat 69

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The WEEK

● *Boys Will Be Boys Dept. (Iron Curtain Division):* A verbatim report of a football match between Poland and Soviet Russia as reported in the Polish magazine *Tygodnik Powszechny:* "Whenever a Russian played badly he was booed, whenever a Pole played badly, the Russian was booed; when the referee gave a free kick to the Poles, the Russians were booed; when he gave a free kick to the guests, the referee was booed. The public madness reached its apogee when the Polish goal keeper, hit accidentally. felt faint for a moment: the chorus of boos and screams became infernal and vodka bottles [empty, obviously] rained on the field." Heaven only knows what would have happened if Poland hadn't won.

● Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi has offered an amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill that will send shudders down what's left of the spines of our professional international hander-outers and raise whoops of jubilation from that sadly ignored factor in the foreign aid machine, the taxpaying American public. The amendment is this: to deny American aid to any country whose UN mission votes for admission of Communist China.

● So the Bizerte "issue," which might otherwise recede into that oblivion in which, because it undermines Western unity, it belongs, must now be ventilated in the General Assembly of the United Nations? So the French "outrages" must now be ten times relived, lest somebody forget them and get on about the world's real business? We make the point for the hundredth time: because it is what it is, the kind of thing it is, and in the very nature of the case, the United Nations aggravates international tensions rather than lessens them, perpetuates them rather than brings them to a quiet and civilized conclusion, encourages them rather than forestalls them. And we shall not lack future occasions on which to say it again.

● Adlai Stevenson, having mastered Latin America, is off for Europe. Chester Bowles is back from a little bit of everywhere. Averell Harriman is reported to be at large. Soapy Williams has had a chat with Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello in Kaduna and with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. These four dishes from the Kennedy feast of pure reason will in due course complete their journeys through the tracts of the world and emerge in Washington, plopping their reports on each other's desks for evaluation. The paralysis of the Administration extends to everything save peristalsis.

● The Gallup Poll confirms public support of the Newburgh Plan. Its nationwide survey found the public two to one in favor of giving local communities more voice concerning who should get relief, and how much. Support for specific planks in the Newburgh platform is even stronger. Asked if able-bodied men on relief should do work for the city, 85 per cent answered yes. To the dismay of the professional welfarists, the response of those earning less than $3,000 a year was several points higher than that from the higher brackets. Seventy-four per cent believe that newcomers who try to get on local relief rolls should be required to prove that they came into the area because they had a bona fide job offer. Meanwhile, at the annual conference of the National Association of County Officials held last week in Chicago, the Newburgh Plan was the acknowledged center of interest. As a focus of delegate attention, Newburgh's City Manager, Joseph McD. Mitchell, considerably outshone the featured guest and speaker, New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

● One Soviet answer to the question, "Why no foreign newsmen at the Titov launching?" is, of course, the straight propaganda answer: Security; we have better instruments than the Americans; they could learn much from us, we nothing from them; therefore they do, we don't, admit foreign newsmen. All the more reason, then, to notice the very different answer a Soviet scientist gave to a questioner at the Titov press conference: We hope there soon will be foreign newsmen at our launchings. Proving what? That the Soviet Leviathan isn't, after all, impervious to reasoned comment abroad (*e.g.*, that which sees Soviet "secrecy," as we do at NATIONAL REVIEW, serving the quite different purpose of allowing a free hand for exaggeration of Soviet "achievements"). The moral: Keep a steady stream of criticism focused on the Soviet Union, even when we are tempted to feel that it is a waste of time and energy.

● In the campaign preceding the August 15 Israeli general election, some of the most slashing attacks on Premier David Ben-Gurion and the dominant Mapai Party were delivered by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, speaking as a leader of Israel's newly formed Liberal Party. Dr. Goldmann condemned Ben-Gurion's "destructive" (meaning "pro-Western") foreign policy. He called for improved Israeli relations with the Soviet Union, and neutralism. Dr. Goldmann, by the way, is a naturalized American citizen. Lucky for him he didn't say anything controversial, or there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might be a memorandum from Senator Fulbright demanding that his papers be cancelled.

● The forthcoming conference of "uncommitted" or "unaligned" states (date September 1, place Belgrade, if you are thinking of going) wants watching —and without too many preconceptions based either on the idea that nobody can be neutral, or that the neutrals because weak do not matter, or that "we" don't like neutrals even if there are any. There *are* neutrals, else Mr. Khrushchev couldn't, as he has done, cool off toward them; they do matter, because weak or powerful they do spell disorder in the world; and though we do not like them, since they should be unneutral and on our side, we also like them because it is better they should be neutral rather than unneutral on the other side. In a word: like them or not, they are a "problem," in large part one of our own making. And if the Belgrade conference can help clarify that problem, we should listen to it with close attention.

● What *is* the State Department up to in—and about —the Dominican Republic? What, too, the Establishment press, which for a month now has clamped a news blackout on Ciudad Trujillo, except for "incidents"—incidents invariably involving the use of "force" against opponents of the present caretaker regime? The main facts to keep in mind are: a) We have no diplomatic relations with our most anti-Communist ally in the Caribbean because b) the Organization of American States, months ago, judged Generalissimo Trujillo guilty of having connived at an attempt to assassinate President Betancourt of Venezuela, and c) the economic sanctions with which the OAS accompanied the condemnation of Trujillo are now drawing blood (domestic unemployment, pressure on the heretofore solid *peso*). Meantime, d) the Dominican Republic is expected to purge itself of guilt and sanctions by showing that it means business about freedom of speech, freedom of political association, and free elections, all so construed as to give free rein to Tokyo-style Communist-directed agitation and provocation. *I.e.*, because a dead dictator allegedly helped plot an assassination, the Dominican Republic is indefinitely deprived of the right, possessed by other sovereign states, to place limits on free speech in behalf of order, and, it would seem, even of its right to a bare minimum of decent news coverage. What, we repeat, goes? And *cui bono?*

● The drive to crush the morale of our armed forces and to abort the military anti-Communist training programs marches on. General Edwin Walker was the first warning example to those who would vigorously fight Communism; then came the restrictions on the use of *Operation Abolition*. The Fulbright Memorandum, discussed in this issue by James Burnham, has opened the gate to a whole series of new anti-anti-Communist moves. Senators Thurmond, Mundt, Bridges and Goldwater are fighting to keep the anti-Communist seminars and programs in operation, but without success so far. Senator Thurmond reveals the effect of the Fulbright Memorandum in Latin America, where many reserve officers in our military services now live and work. Last year, one hundred of these men were called to active duty in the Panama Canal Zone for two weeks, and given intensive briefing concerning the Communist threat in South America. The effect was to make them better-equipped to offset Communist propaganda, and to keep track of Communists in the various Central and South American countries. This year the officers were to have had another briefing. Following the Fulbright Memorandum the military has put a clamp on such anti-Communist efforts. The session was cancelled.

● Watching Berlin over their shoulders, Switzerland and Sweden have just placed multi-million-dollar orders for batteries of Britain's spectacular missile system, Bloodhound 2, said to be capable of tracking and hitting enemy missiles as well as supersonic bombers. Switzerland and Sweden are traditionally "neutral," not "neutralist." See the difference?

● Dag Hammarskjold has announced the new, greatly expanded United Nations deficit for 1961: quite a problem from his standpoint, because he doesn't have a real government to back him up. Now, if he had a real World Rule under World Law, he'd have, of course, a World Currency and a World Bank, and a World Printing Press, and the deficit would disappear in a swirl of World Paper Bank Notes, all brightly printed in four colors (white on white, black on black, etc.) and five languages, including Worldspeak. There would be no deficits, no gold problem; and everyone would have lots of World-cash. So why don't we do it? For one simple reason: because even Dag Hammarskjold knows that at that time the mission of the United Nations among the underdeveloped peoples of the world would be made utterly impossible. For those backward savages on every continent just seem to have a superstition that paper ain't worth nothin'.

● Mr. Paul McMahon of Binghamton, New York, having listened with interest to Federal Communications Commissioner Minow's description of TV as a "wasteland," determined to do something about it. He bought a copy of the film *Operation Abolition* (28-minute version) and offered it to the Binghamton TV station WNBF as a sustaining program. Not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interested, said the station. "I'll buy 30 minutes of time," Mr. McMahon then proposed, "and run it myself"—a proposition which positively stunned station manager Dunham, who pulled himself together just long enough to gasp: "But it's controversial." When Mr. McMahon insisted on having better grounds than that for refusal of video time, Mr. Dunham gained a breather by insisting that the film must first be sent to Philadelphia and inspected by attorneys of Triangle Publications (which owns the Binghamton station); and sent to Philadelphia it was. Several weeks later Mr. McMahon phoned the station to inquire on the verdict, only to be told by station manager Dunham that the film had unaccountably been lost in transit. WNBF-TV, Mr. McMahon was told, would be happy to reimburse him for the cost of the film. But Mr. McMahon is not interested in getting back the cash equivalent of his film. He wants the film itself; and he wants a straightforward answer on his request to buy air time. In hope of getting both, he has written Mr. Minow, outlining his troubles and asking, most politely, just when WNBF's license comes up for renewal.

● Young conservatives in darkest Manhattan are running their own candidate for City Council. He is Edward L. Nash, 29, Director of Advertising at a major publishing firm and Manhattan Chairman of Young Americans for Freedom. The incumbent rival is 78-year-old Stanley Isaacs, only Republican on the City Council and its farthest Left member. Isaacs is a tireless signer of Left-wing petitions. Among recent batches: for the admission of Communist China to the UN, for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, for a permanent ban on nuclear testing. The young conservatives have gathered more than twice the number of names they need to get their candidate's name on the Republican primary ballot, but they do not discount the possibility of skulduggery before final certification. They have formed the Young Conservative Campaign Committee, 343 Lexington Avenue, Manhattan (MU-5-8731), and welcome all volunteers for the campaign.

● The National Student Association is in the midst of a three-weeks-long convention in Madison, Wisconsin. Although it claims to speak for 1.3 million students and 350 member colleges, there are critics of both Left and Right who say that under its authoritarian structure few students have any voice in policy decisions. Conservatives point out, in addition, that the NSA is dominated by a small, far-Left clique that bears no resemblance to the average American student. Recent NSA resolutions, for example, have praised the "university reforms" of Fidel Castro, opposed the loyalty oath provisions of the National Defense Education Act, and defended the Communist-led students in Japan who rioted against President Eisenhower. At this year's convention, two national groups have set out to reform NSA: The Committee for a Responsible National Student Organization, headed by Howard Phillips of Harvard University; and the Students Committed to Accurate National Representation, led by Kay Wonderlic of Northwestern University. The Communists, too, evidently find the convention of much interest. A recent issue of *New Horizons for Youth* warns that the NSA must not fall into the hands of conservatives. *New Horizons*' editor is Daniel Rubin, national youth director of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

● The press department of the Embassy of the USSR, in Washington, D.C. informs us that it has available "the draft Program and Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), which will be discussed and adopted at the Party's Twenty-second Congress." Now, *that's* what we call a *real* democracy.

Bankruptcy in Berlin

The likelihood of an East German uprising, similar to the bloody June 17, 1953 revolt, has been worrying the [Western] Allies for weeks. The closing of the Berlin frontier is regarded as vastly increasing the peril. . . . The hope among all officials here [in Washington] is that the East Germans would not rise. . . .

The policy of the United States and its allies continues to be that nothing will be done to encourage a rebellion in East Germany and nothing will be done to assist if one should erupt because of the danger of a military clash with Soviet forces.

New York Times, Washington dispatch, August 14, 1961

The danger [is] of popular uprisings in East Germany, which might get out of hand. . . .

High officials here said today that every precaution is being taken by the West . . . to avoid incitement to riots in East Germany. . . .

The Kennedy Administration is trying to avoid any . . . shadow of moral involvement in East Germany.

New York Herald Tribune, same source, same day

Those words perfectly express the bankruptcy of American and Western international policy. The very eventuality that would be the target and triumphant climax of a rational policy has become transformed into its exact opposite: a "peril," a "danger," a disaster to be staved off by all possible means.

For fifteen years, our governors of opinion have explained to us that a policy of liberation is utopian

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fantasy, that "under a totalitarian regime the masses cannot revolt," that only unrealistic moralists and wild-eyed crackpots imagine we should seriously set ourselves the objective of disintegrating the Soviet Empire. Time after time the people within that Empire, in East Germany, Poland, Tibet, Ukraine, Hungary, Kazakstan and in Russia itself have tried to prove—completing their proof with their blood—how blind our bureaucrats, appeasers, and wiseacres, and all the rest of our Philistines, have been.

A *policy* of liberation, keep in mind, would have planned and moved, deliberately and in detail, toward situations where mass actions of varying intensity and scope within the enemy sphere would be used as strategic weapons. We would now be approaching the Berlin crisis (if indeed East Germany were still under enemy rule) not in fear and trembling at the possibility of spontaneous mass reactions, but with our plans made in advance and a far-flung organization ready for operating on both sides of the Iron Curtain. We would be in a position to *direct* in considerable measure what the masses might do, and not only in East Germany but throughout the Sino-Soviet regions. If East Germany were the prime immediate theater, as today, we would be able to swing into support of its people others—large masses as well as trained activist units—elsewhere in East Europe and Asia. We would be prepared to furnish guidance, communications, supplies, psychological and political support in every forum.

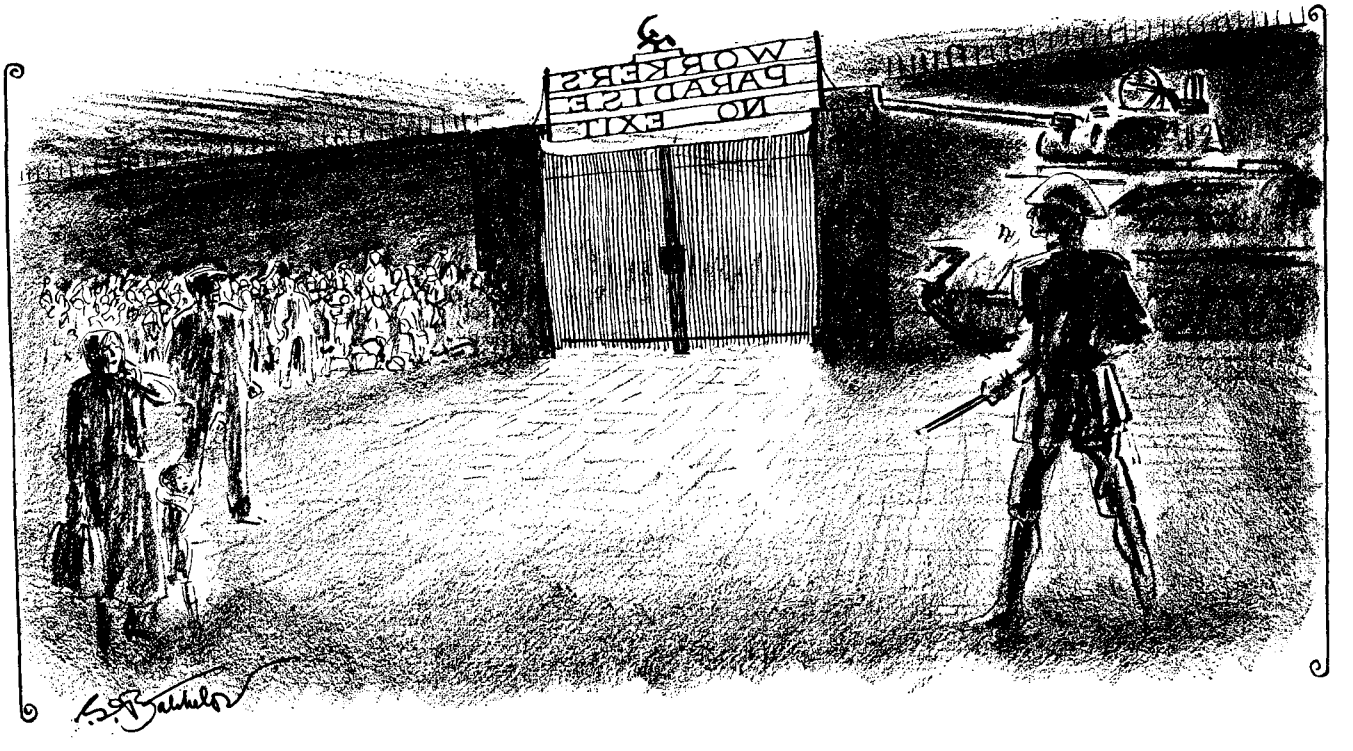
That would be a "deterrent," backed by the physical deterrent of our nuclear striking force, toward which Khrushchev's attitude would be something very different from his contemptuous dismissal of the "vigorous protests" that are now the limit of our arsenal. Khrushchev knows as well as any man how realistic a policy of liberation is. "Liberation"—his style—is *his* policy, the liberation of non-Communist nations from non-Communist governments. He is proud of his policy; he proclaims it to the four quarters of the earth. And he is carrying it out, pretty successfully.

What this Berlin crisis proves abundantly is that the policy we have followed for fifteen years, the policy of containment-coexistence-appeasement, is the unrealistic and utopian policy. It lands us now at the Brandenburg Gate with not an arrow in our quiver; nothing but those "vigorous protests."

On the basis of a containment-coexistence policy, the most that we *could* do at Berlin—or anywhere else, of course, by the policy's own logic—is to hold, just barely hold. But evidently containment-coexistence has drifted too far in the direction it must inevitably go—appeasement. We are not even holding at Berlin. The Communists have torn up the treaties and pre-empted our rights. And we have protested.

Even by the containment-coexistence rules there are a hundred measures we might take, partial as these must necessarily be: specifically, for example, cumulative restrictions, boycotts, diplomatic pressures, cancellation of exchange programs, embargoes, not to speak of indirect pressures through resumption of nuclear tests, action on Cuba, and so on. So far, nothing.

We are once more, it would seem, waiting for the dust to settle. This time, on East German bones.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let's Get It Straight

At a former casino in Punta del Este, Uruguay, the Inter-American Economic and Social Conference of Finance Ministers met to consider one thing: how to divide and spend the phantom $20 billion that will somehow flow south of the border through President Kennedy's fancifully named Alliance for Progress.

The proximate cause of the President's initiative is, of course, Castro: more specifically, the threat that Castroid *coups d'état* will spread through Latin America. A more remote cause is the knowledge that, in some parts of Latin America, the United States is not only unloved but actively attacked. Beneath all is the operative cause: the growing success of Communist subversion in Latin America, with the corollary threat to hemispheric defense.

Yet we dress up our program in the very slogans of the Communist rhetoric that we should oppose: an appeal to do away with poverty, illiteracy, inequity —a cry for land reform. And, at the same time, Adlai Stevenson (*New York Times Magazine*, August 6) tells us to launch the Alliance with no strings attached. How we are to achieve Mr. Stevenson's social, economic, political, educational and tax reforms with a hands-off policy, no one knows. And, although it is all undertaken in view of "threats of outside aggression and subversion," Douglas Dillon urges the conferees at Punta del Este to *reduce* their military budgets.

Where the $20 billion will come from—$20 billion of gifts, loans and investments, both governmental and non-governmental—no one knows. How much it will achieve is easier to estimate: over the ten years of the Alliance it *is enough, say,* to buy one good pair of shoes, each year, for every person of the present 200 million population (currently increasing at a rate of 2½ per cent annually) of Latin America. Is *this* the measure of our determination to defend the Western Hemisphere?

Cuba's half-clothed Major Guevara, heading his country's delegation, said: "The way to make agrarian reform is to take land from the man who has a lot and give it to the man who has none. Talk about it being more complicated is a siren song." Guevara also plainly told the conferees that the United States wants to buy, with its Alliance for Progress, a general political opposition to Castroism in Latin America. Which, it appears, can't be done: for Peru offered a resolution calling for free and periodic elections (a slap at the Cuban dictatorship)—and the conference voted it down.

So: with no strings attached, we shall not achieve an anti-Castro (anti-Communist) consensus in Latin America. With $20 billion in ten years we cannot noticeably budge the economies to the south, even if they were better spent than they will be. The Alliance for Progress will not meet our problem or theirs.

Then are they doomed, and we with them? No. If we wish to defend the hemisphere, let us defend it in the classic manner: with a string of military bases. If we wish to counter the roil and fester of Communist subversion, let *us* and our real friends infiltrate the nerve centers that control such things—the broadcasting stations, the press, the academies, the labor unions. If we wish to fashion Latin America after the image of an orderly, industrialized, Anglo-Saxon society, let us stand up and announce our goals, and have an end of this hypocrisy of "no strings attached." If we wish to help the Latin American nations get away from single-commodity economies, let us point out the *requirement* that they free their trade and respect our private investments in their lands. Let us, in short, set the record straight: we do not want a Communist Latin America; accept the facts: we cannot reform Latin America today or tomorrow; and proceed from there: to take all steps necessary to our own hemispheric defense—humanely, if possible.

Tourists, Go Home!

It has become law: President Kennedy's bill to reduce to $100 (from $500) the value of foreign goods that tourists may bring back to this country duty-free. It's a poor law, because it will invite reciprocal actions by foreign governments at the very time when we're said to be encouraging foreign tourists to come to this country. It's an indefinite and probably feckless law, because many an American abroad will henceforth simply spend his travel budget to maximize his immediate pleasures—and, if he doesn't want to pay duty, he'll stay another day, or try a fancier hotel, and at least get his fun, meanwhile spending the dollars the law wants to keep him from spending. And it's a needless law because, in the long run, the only thing foreigners can do with their tourist-spent dollars is to send them back to this country voluntarily, to pay for American goods.

We are patient, Mr. President: we will go over the lesson again. The gold flow problem is the result of the monetary irresponsibility of federal bureaucrats and demagogic politicians, who are charged with the duty to "regulate the value" of the currency; American tourists, poor things, have not caused the gold problem. The cure remains what it has always been: balanced federal budgets, or even an occasional budgetary surplus for a while; tax and fiscal rules that encourage capital investment to reduce production costs; discipline (whether internal or external) of the labor force; restriction of foreign grants to amounts we can afford; and a halt to inflation. If, to secure the blessing of a sound dollar, Mr. President,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you must give up some of your pet schemes (as, let us say, *your* plan to spend $20 billion on Latin America)—why, just chalk up the whole thing as a sacrifice that the country, this time, demands of *you*.

High Frontier

In Billings, Montana, the Federal Government's eager little workers are scattered through several different office buildings. The General Services Administration, in a seizure of Kennedy-type efficiency, proposes to consolidate all these people in one gorgeous Federal Office Building.

Mr. Willard E. Fraser, a citizen of Billings and a sharp student of governmental idiocy, informs us that this new building will cost the taxpayers about $12 million more, over forty years, than they would pay if they continued as is. The current rental (for privately-owned, commercial properties) would cost the government $5,941,000 over forty years. The new building would rack up the following costs: $6,516,000 for the new building; $5,009,180 in interest charges at 3¾ per cent; $6,000,000 for operation and maintenance; $783,556 in local property taxes exempted. Grand total of Kennedy thrift: $18.3 million.

As if it weren't bad enough to saddle the country with $12 million of needless expense for office space in Billings, the government in its wisdom adds effrontery to stupidity: for the oil boom has subsided in Billings, and about 30 per cent of the town's office space is now vacant.

And they want to start a federal office of Urban Renewal?

The Strange Behavior of America

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The editors of *America*, a Jesuit journal of opinion, have attacked me and NATIONAL REVIEW for the position taken by NATIONAL REVIEW (July 29) on the recent encyclical of Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*. *America's* argument is not with the merits of NATIONAL REVIEW'S comments, but with our presumption in having written (other than merely to praise the encyclical) at all—on the extraordinary grounds that I am a Catholic, and that to have written, under the circumstances, is disrespectful.

I gently remind the editors of *America* that NATIONAL REVIEW is no more a Catholic magazine because its editor is a Catholic, than the present Administration is a Catholic Administration because its head is a Catholic. The editorial in question represented the position of the editorial board of NATIONAL REVIEW, on which the three major religious faiths are represented, Catholic, Protestant, and Jew. It is under the circumstances impudent for *America* to catechize NATIONAL REVIEW for exercising, in behalf of its readers, its independent editorial judgment on a papal encyclical.

I as a Catholic have been taught—by, among others, my Jesuit teachers at school in England—that a papal encyclical, which is not a pronouncement of a dogmatic character, must be studied and understood in context of historical and other developments, and that it is wrong and rash to dogmatize on any encyclical merely because it appears to give temporary succor to one's own political or economic leanings.

The suggestion by *America* that the beliefs of those they so tediously call "so-called Catholic conservatives" "can in some respects scarcely be reconciled with Pope John's teaching" is news to this so-called conservative. NATIONAL REVIEW believes in the primacy of the individual. So do the Popes (cf., *Mater et Magistra*). NATIONAL REVIEW believes in private property. So do the Popes (cf., *Rerum Novarum, Q. Anno, et seq.*). NATIONAL REVIEW believes that no political agency should undertake a job which can be performed by a private agency; and that no political agency of higher instance should undertake any job which a lesser political agency can undertake. So do the Popes (cf., *Rerum Novarum, et seq.*). NATIONAL REVIEW believes that we are engaged in an implacable war with atheistic Communism. So do the Popes (cf., *Divini Redemptoris*).

Under these categories most contemporary political and economic arguments fall. As regards the application of these broad directives in particular circumstances, there is room for honest difference of opinion. The Popes have repeatedly urged the importance of the individual in the age of the machine. There is room for disagreement as to whether a particular social measure is dehumanizing in its tendency: Catholics can disagree on the matter.

The Popes have stressed repeatedly that property is a natural right. There is surely room for disagreement among Catholics on the point at which a state is in effect challenging this natural right. One man may say the point is reached when the state commandeers 50 per cent of a man's property. Another man may say the point is not reached until the state commandeers 90 per cent. Both men may be Catholics in good standing.

Have private agencies and the individual states demonstrated their competence, in America, to, let us say, finance education? Some say no—we must go to the Federal Government. Some say there is no need for federal aid. Both voices can, claiming consonance with the papal principle of subsidiarity, continue to argue the question on empirical grounds.

Some say we must cooperate more closely with the Communists in the United Nations and elsewhere, in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the interest of that peace and good fellowship which are so urgently enjoined upon us by Christianity. Others caution against too intimate a collaboration as involving a compromise in our own position—in disregard, among other things, of the papal injunction against cooperation with the Communists in "any undertaking whatsoever" (cf., *Divini Redemptoris*). Both spokesmen, in good conscience can understand themselves as being in harmony with the broad social directives of the Vatican. I am not surprised that a non-Catholic journal should seek to coopt the Pope for its political position on the basis of a few paragraphs in a single encyclical (there is now "a Socialist Pope," the *Manchester Guardian* jubilates!), but I am surprised that a Catholic journal should make so grave an error.

Perhaps I should not be surprised, considering the remarkable ignorance *America* has shown in the past concerning those numerous Catholic conservatives, including priests, monsignori, bishops and cardinals, who are sympathetic to the position NATIONAL REVIEW defends; and indeed, to the way in which NATIONAL REVIEW defends it. It was in *America*—'way before *Mater et Magistra*—that a reverend father, member of *America's* staff, wrote that NATIONAL REVIEW's political and economic position "would appeal only to those who feel that freedom consists in sleeping on park benches at night, or foraging in garbage cans for food."

Gregory XVI called freedom of the press "execrable." In an encyclical. Is *America* disloyal to papal authority for dismissing from memory Pope Gregory's views on the subject? Leo XIII believed a nation should *not* be neutral on the matter of religion and the separation of church and state. *America's* editors disagree. Are they lacking in filial respect? Pius IX, in the Syllabus of Errors, denounced most of the political institutions *America's* editors love. Lord Acton—and Bishop Dupanloup—were out of sympathy with the Syllabus, to mention only two prominent Catholic dissenters of the day.

Actually, NATIONAL REVIEW has made no substantive criticism of *Mater et Magistra*. Simplistic interpretations in secular terms are notoriously unwise. It merely pointed out that "*coming at this particular time in history*," parts of it may be considered as trivial. We trust *America* is not taking the position that the President of the United States and all Catholic senators and congressmen are now bound by conscience to vote in favor of the welfare state, agricultural price supports, UNESCO, and the ILO because passages in *Mater et Magistra* can, taken in isolation, be cited as presumptive evidence of papal endorsement of them. If that is what the editors of *America* mean, and if their views are correct, then so are the views of Paul Blanshard.

For the Record

Senator Richard Russell (D., Ga.) finding his Republican colleagues cool to proposals that they close ranks against any late session Liberal putsch on filibuster rules. Republicans pointing out that it is Southern Democrats, with a few exceptions, who have torpedoed conservative coalition by voting in every Administration spending measure . . . . Don't be surprised if Nelson Rockefeller starts talking just a little bit like Barry Goldwater; he's in the market for conservative votes . . . . Rockefeller reported pouring money, big money, into Lefkowitz NYC mayoralty campaign, as warmup for his own all-important re-election battle next year.

Officers in Pentagon regret that Administration chose to clamp down on Gen. Edwin Walker, who's considered best U.S. divisional commander in Europe, just before Berlin crisis erupted . . . . Sharpshooters of the 24th Infantry Division, trained by Walker, incidentally, just beat out five other NATO teams to win the Prix Leclerc small arms crown . . . . Walker, in the U.S. on short leave, spoke last week at the Cleveland reunion of famed Ranger Unit he led in WW II.

East German press making big thing of Sen. Fulbright's statement that "the East Germans have the right to close their borders." One headline: "U.S. Senator Against Trade in Human Beings." . . . Under impetus of Fulbright Memorandum, a government contract with Dr. Strausz-Hupé's Foreign Policy Research Institute has been sharply curtailed . . . . Soviet emissaries, who asked permission to set up Tass bureau in newly independent Ivory Coast, rebuffed by its pro-Western leader Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

John Birchers at play: Since California Attorney General Mosk recommended against an investigation of the John Birch Society on the grounds that its "cadres seem to be formed primarily of wealthy businessmen, retired military officers and little old ladies in tennis shoes," his office has been flooded with packages of beat-up old sneakers.

Beginning the rounds in Catholic conservative circles: "America, sí; America, no."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Trends

Trading with the Enemy

WILLIAM SCHULZ

On several occasions during his campaign, John Kennedy promised to revise what he considered the sterile, negative concepts that governed free world trade with the Communist bloc; and he has kept his word.

Within six months, Mr. Kennedy has drastically altered American policies on trade with the enemy, so quietly that few realize the magnitude of his actions. He has created "an entirely new atmosphere" (as one State Department minion puts it) in which commerce between East and West is actively promoted to ease world tensions.

The President has successfully pushed through the Senate several radical amendments to the Battle Act facilitating trade with the Soviet Union and its satellite empire; the Defense Department has been persuaded to overturn an earlier ruling that precision machine tools could not be exported to the USSR; the Treasury Department has lifted its ban on the importation of Russian crabmeat; and a legal reinterpretation by Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges has opened the door for sale of below-cost surplus farm commodities to Iron Curtain nations.

Licenses Approved

The atmosphere at Commerce is remarkably changed. Under the regimes of Lewis Strauss and Frederick Mueller, American manufacturers found it difficult to get licenses for export to the Soviet Union and its satellite empire. In two days recently, however, the Department approved 41 licenses for the sale of goods to Red bloc nations: thirteen granted permission for export to the Soviet Union; eleven to Czechoslovakia; nine to Yugoslavia; four to Rumania; two to Hungary; and one each to Poland and Bulgaria.

Ruled non-strategic in nature, and therefore approved for export, were all ball-bearings, machine tools, power transmission systems, aircraft and automotive spare parts, electrical machinery, geophysical instruments and other "industrial products and chemicals."

American firms are now being urged to import from the Red bloc, a matter of some concern to several old allies. It is known, for instance, that the Russians wish to export to this country asbestos, furs, lumber, pulp and paper, ferrous metals and alloys. Worried Canadians point out that the list reads almost like a rundown of Canada's main exports to the U.S.

Cold War Weapon

The Administration seemingly refuses to recognize that the Soviet Union has long used trade as a major weapon in its cold war arsenal. During the early thirties, for instance, when Soviet trade reached an all-time peak, Russian imports from Estonia (then a free nation) almost overnight shrank to 4.12 per cent of the previous average. This unexpected cessation of almost all Soviet purchases was meant to crush Estonia's national economy. It was due only to the exemplary discipline of the Estonian people that the Kremlin did not succeed in its aggressive plans at that time.

In 1947, famine raged in a great many sections of Russia, but the Soviets sent shiploads of grain to Italy and to France to bolster Communist revoluntary activities in those countries. And several years ago the Soviet Union sent tens of millions of dollars worth of war materiel, clothing and medicine to Egypt for no other reason than to create disturbances in the Middle East and to disrupt the flow of oil and general trade through the Suez Canal. And in 1953, when Pakistan appeared ready to sign a military treaty with this country, Communist China put on the screws by cutting its purchases of Pakistani cotton from $84 to $7 million in one year.

It was more than a realization that commerce as used by the Kremlin is a weapon, however, that led the Eisenhower Administration to reject regularly Soviet trade overtures. There was the hard fact that much that the Russians want is strategically valuable. In June of 1958, for instance, Premier Khrushchev wrote President Eisenhower asking for $100 million in credits to buy American chemical equipment and processes of a nature so secret that many American firms were unable to obtain them. Among them were processes for making polyurethanes, used in insulation for missile controls, and acrylonitrile, which is basic to plastics, synthetic fibers and man-made rubber. Many of the chemicals had direct uses in radar, missiles and nuclear submarines.

U.S. industry had devoted 10,000 man hours to just five of the sixteen processes the Russians were after. The offer was turned down on the grounds that there was no gain for the United States in any such deal, that Russia could copy all that she bought, then flood world markets with chemicals produced with Western knowledge. Further, there could be no guarantee that the Reds would keep their promise to pay. Deputy Premier Mikoyan told State Department officials two years ago that his country had no intention of paying its World War II Lend Lease debt.

The Communists have by no means distinguished themselves as traders. In recent years Czechoslovakia, for instance, has swung a number of deals to export machine tools and other machinery. Customers are now complaining that delivery dates for the tools are lengthening. Some small tools can be supplied from stocks, but for medium tools there is a delay of five to eight months, and for heavy tools about eighteen months; for special tools the delay can be up to three years.

But to the bright young men who surround the President there are no two ways about trade with the Communist bloc. "What you can't realize," commented one recently, "is the effect these policies have on world tensions. It was time for us to take the initiative and we have. You can see the results yourself." And so you can.

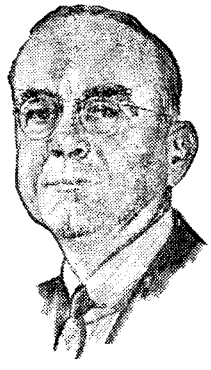
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Third World War

Something New Added

JAMES BURNHAM

Senator Fulbright played coy about his Memorandum on the Sins of the Military. It was just a hasty private note (like Robert Welch's *The Politician,* perhaps?) that he had scribbled to a friend at the Pentagon, he explained to fellow Senators who vainly asked if they might see a copy. No, he couldn't figure at all how that *New York Times* chap got the direct quotes and summary. But you never know about the *New York Times,* do you?



Burnham

The pose was a little too thick from a Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and close political colleague of the President, who had addressed a document on basic policy to the Secretary of Defense. The Club applied the pressure, and on August 2 Mr. Fulbright—still coyly—offered his Memo to the *Congressional Record.* "Madame President [Senator Mrs. Neuberger being in the Chair] I have been surprised by a display of intense interest in a memorandum. . . . I was unaware that the subject was one which could arouse great controversy."

The text marks a new style in congressional literature. It is novel in rhetoric and in what might be called the dialectical sophistication of the author, whoever he may be. It is novel, also, remembering the senatorial by-line, for the openness of its cynicism toward the democratic process and military mind. "It is probably the view of most Members of Congress today that if foreign aid were laid before the people in a referendum, it would be defeated. . . . Yet . . . all the paraphernalia of our international programs must be at least tolerated by the people during the 'long twilight struggle'. . . . There is little in the education, training or experience of most military officers to equip them with the balance of judgment necessary to put their own ultimate solutions . . . into proper perspective."

Ostensibly the Memo is concerned with the formal, constitutional question of "civilian control of the military" in relation to what officers say about strategic and political issues in military institutions or public gatherings. This is mere hogwash. For years the lecture rosters of the war colleges, the reading lists of military indoctrination programs, the tables of military clubs and recreation centers, have been loaded with scores of Liberal and worse-than-Liberal speakers, books and magazines, without causing Senator Fulbright's conscience a single twitch. Nor is there any record of his having protested any of the 1,001 Liberal platitudes spouted by officers (or their ghost writers) in 10,000 lectures and articles.

Who Is the Enemy?

What, then, are Senator Fulbright & Co. really aiming at? The Memo is sprinkled with references to "right-wing radicalism." This is said to be defined by "a central thesis that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. . . . This thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with Communism."

Now this "central thesis" is more or less that of Robert Welch, Rev. Billy James Hargis and some of their followers. When accepted in unqualified terms, it may justifiably be taken as defining a type of "right-wing radicalism." It is, moreover, when unqualifiedly put, false. But it is *not* a thesis that has made much headway among the military, except for a small number of retired officers to whom the Memo's strictures are not properly relevant.

A balanced reading of the Memo reveals that this "right-wing radicalism" is a straw man. The actual target is a tendency that *has* been making serious headway among the military: namely, the "hard" point of view toward the Soviet Union and the international Communist enterprise, based on the premises that we are at war, and that our task is to win the war.

In the growth of this tendency, some elements of the military have been associated with the members and work of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy, and the Richardson Foundation (which has helped finance the two institutes). It is these institutes, and their doctrine of "protracted conflict," that are singled out by name as the Memo's Enemy.

Totalitarian Appeasement

The longest of the Memo's four attachments is a reprint of an article on these organizations published in the March issue of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*: a journal numbering among its sponsors and frequent contributors, Linus Pauling and Robert Oppenheimer.

Prof. Strausz-Hupé, the FPRA director, thus summarizes the doctrine from which the Fulbright Memo seeks to immunize our military: "In today's protracted conflict the United States must maintain and use its power for the same ultimate purpose [as Pericles pursued in Athens' protracted conflict with Sparta]: to turn the tide of battle against the Communists, to induce them to overextend themselves, to exploit the weakness of their system, to paralyze their will, and to bring about their ultimate collapse."

What we have in this Memo is a bold stroke—probably going well beyond what Senator Fulbright realizes—in a campaign, not to reassert civilian control over the military (which has been nowise in question), but to impose on all military personnel, totalitarian style, an integral appeasement ideology.

Is this Memo important? It was important enough to make the Pentagon start dancing, immediately, to its tune. It was important enough to get from the President, in his press conference of August 10, an unconditioned endorsement.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Greenback Utopia

A veteran of the Keynesian wars proves that no matter how you pave it with primrose statistics the inflationary road ends in an economic swamp

HENRY HAZLITT

Today practically every country in the world has suffered or is still suffering from some degree of inflation —mild to catastrophic. Inflation has demoralized the economies of most of our Latin American neighbors. France and West Germany have only in recent years had to take heroic measures to curb the harm of previous inflations. The two "key currency" countries, Great Britain and the United States, face a balance-of-payments crisis as a result of their past inflations and of the excessively free use of their currencies as the reserves of other countries. Yet it is one of the strange ironies of our era that with this record before them an increasing number of economic writers are boldly announcing that more and more deliberate inflation is the supreme remedy for all our economic ills.

Typical of these is Edwin L. Dale Jr., an economics reporter for the *New York Times*. His "new" gospel is announced in an article in the May 29 issue of the *New Republic*, called "Confession of a One-Time Conservative." I have been reading Mr. Dale's pieces in the *Times* for many years now, and I cannot remember when they were "conservative." I cannot recall when they were not at least mildly Keynesian; and I recall when they were violently so. But perhaps he now and then said a word in favor of government economy and a balanced budget. It is this word that he now apparently regrets. For he has "lived a while," he tells us, "in the extraordinary economic atmosphere of Western Europe," and a dazzling light has suddenly burst upon him:

"The dazzlingly simple lesson from Western Europe appears to me this:

"The way to achieve the best of all possible economic worlds (rapid economic growth, full employment, stable prices, favorable balance-of-payments, more investment, no recessions, more consumption, better living standards) is to spend as much Government money as possible, and make sure that the amount the Government spends rises rapidly each year."

If this comforting and wonderful conclusion is correct, then the rabble-rousers, spenders and totalitarians have been right all along, and it is the statesmen who risked popularity and office by talking or enforcing limited government, economy, and fiscal prudence who were fools in a double sense, for they were risking their political lives only to hurt their countrymen and to obstruct the blessings that the demagogues were determined to provide.

Statistics Can Deceive

The evidence Mr. Dale offers for this wonderful conclusion is mainly inductive. It is based on comparative statistics—of gross national product, of government expenditure, and of economic growth.

Here we come to difficulties and problems of which Dale seems to be blissfully unaware. Statistics — even where they are comparable, reliable, complete and precise—can never prove *causal* relationships in the economic world. The reason is that economic causes and effects can never be statistically isolated. So many factors may cause a rise or fall in production or employment, for example, that it is never possible to say with confidence precisely what role each factor has played.

The economic world consists of millions of workers, even millions of employers and entrepreneurs, thousands of products, millions of separate prices, and above all millions of decisions by producers and consumers. One may compile statistics, for example, on productivity, wages, prices and money-supply. But it is impossible to tell from these statistics alone whether an increase in wages has caused an increase in prices and wages. One has to look beyond the figures. The same thing applies to the relationship of an increase in money-supply to employment. Too much depends upon the specific relationships among wages, prices and prospective profit-margins.

This fundamental difficulty exists, to repeat, even when statistics are comparable, reliable, complete and precise. But few economic statistics combine these qualities. Putting aside precision and completeness as unattainable perfectionism, few are even comparable and reliable.

This is particularly true of the kind of statistics that Dale cites in his article. Few countries even count their government expenditures in the same way. And no two countries compile their gross national product estimates in precisely the same way. Moreover, compiling gross national product estimates, notwithstanding its present popularity, is a very dubious pastime. The gross national product is not only an arbitrary figure but an indeterminate one. (It would take too long here to explain why. I refer the interested reader to a section, "Is National Income Determinate?", pp. 409-415 in my book *The Failure of the "New Economics."*) Putting aside more fundamental difficulties, prices and "price levels" are changing in every country every year. It is difficult to say whether the statisticians have made accurate allowance for these changes in figuring changes in "real" gross product or national income. Price indexes are at best approximations; they can never have scientific precision.

When we come to comparing "rates of growth" our difficulties multiply enormously. These growth comparisons are honeycombed with statistical tricks and traps. We get a different

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"annual growth rate," even for the same country, for example, with every change in the years or span of years we take as a base.

Spend and Grow Rich

Dale prefers not to bore his readers by giving them any complete statistical picture. He simply throws off, airily, a handful of "key" figures and sweeping statements. These are deemed sufficient to prove his case. We are apparently supposed to take everything else on faith.

These key figures are cited for only four countries—the U.S., Germany, Belgium and Britain. We are told that the economic miracle of Germany was not caused by anything that its chief architect, Dr. Erhard, thinks caused it (such as halting inflation, abolishing price controls, and letting loose the creative forces of private enterprise) but by taxing and spending. Germany has done so brilliantly, Dale tells us, because it taxes and spends 34 per cent of its gross national product—"the highest in the non-Communist world." The U.S., Britain and Belgium, on the other hand, have all been economic "laggards," because they have spent, respectively, through government (central and local) only 26, 28 and 23 per cent of their GNP (gross national product). We are also told that "France, Sweden, and Austria have practically nothing in common except one thing: They spend, and they grow." But no specific figures are offered for them for either the percentage they spend of GNP or their rate of growth. (No rate-of-growth figures are, in fact, offered for any country.)

Dale does not bother to tell us where his figures and comparisons come from. No doubt from an "authoritative" source. But authoritative sources conflict. Looking up the figures offered in *International Finance Statistics* for July 1961 (the monthly publication of the International Monetary Fund), I get the following comparisons:

Germany's gross national product in 1960 was 275.8 billion Deutsche marks; the Federal Republic spent 40.8 billion. This is not 34 per cent of GNP, but less than 15 per cent. The U.S. GNP in 1960 was $503.2 billion; the Federal Government alone spent in the year $94.3 billion. This is about 19 per cent. The GNP of the United Kingdom was £25.23 billion in 1959; the government expenditure £7.076 billion. Thus apparently the central government's expenditure alone was the 28 per cent figure that Dale cites. (This is almost twice, it will be noticed, the percentage expenditure of the German central government.) The GNP of Belgium in 1959 was 573 billion francs; government expenditure, 127 billion. This is about 22 per cent.

The Expenditure Gap

So from the above casual check-up we find apparently serious discrepancies in Dale's figures (whatever their unmentioned source). Whether or not adding local government expenditures would more than double the German central government's spending, Dale does not seem to have taken internationally comparable figures. Those for Britain and Belgium seem to count central government expenditures alone. On the face of the figures offered in *International Financial Statistics,* the comparisons are precisely the opposite of those Dale gives. The West German central government seems to spend much the least percentage of the national GNP of any of the governments cited.

But suppose, for the sake of argument, that the figures Dale cites are correct—are in fact ascertainable, reasonably dependable, even precise. What would they prove? It seems that if a country's government spends "only" 28 per cent of its GNP (which in Britain's case, by the way, is actually 35 per cent of its national *income*) it will be still an economic "laggard"; but if it spends 34 per cent, its growth will be an economic miracle. The expenditure gap that makes the difference between lagging and leaping is evidently a very narrow one. What, then, is the optimum government expenditure point? If it were raised to 40 per cent of GNP, would there be a double economic miracle? Or if the country's citizens were not allowed to keep a cent of what they earned, but the whole of it were taxed away from them and spent by government, would economic growth rise to infinity?

Dr. Erhard is Wrong

Dale gives us no direct answers to these questions, but he implies one in his confident and precise prescription for the U.S.:

"The lesson in all this for America is clear: Raise Federal Government spending as rapidly as possible to $100 billion (*i.e.*, $120 billion on a cash basis) and make sure it rises at least $4 billion a year."

As the Federal Government is already spending $100 billion on a cash basis, I take this to mean that we ought to pile on $20 billion a year more spending right away plus a new $4 billion on top of that every year hereafter.

But why did Dale stop at just these figures? Why not $100 billion additional right away and $20 billion more each year on top of that? Or does Dale have some formula for the exact dose that he has neglected to mention?

It is clear, in any case, that Dale's "conclusions" regarding the beneficent effects of huge government spending are not in fact derived from the fragmentary and dubious "statistics" he so airily cites but from *a priori* assumptions. He is so sure of these that he sweeps aside Dr. Erhard's own explanation that German recovery was brought about by rejecting statism and *dirigisme* and releasing the creative forces of private enterprise. Dale insists it was really due to heavy government taxing and spending. This is to accuse Dr. Erhard either of not knowing what he was doing or of deliberate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deception. In fact, Dale makes this accusation explicitly: "Let us look for a moment at the economic miracle of Germany. Its creators have misled the world about it."

The *a priori* assumptions behind Dale's conclusion that huge government spending is a panacea for all economic problems can be found in his article: "The reason . . . is not that Government spending is inherently better than private spending, though that may be true. The reason is that a very high level of Government spending, no matter where the money goes, assures a very high level of demand. And a high level of demand is the open sesame to everything else."

A Couple of Qualifications

What is extraordinary about the foregoing paragraph is that it says nothing whatever about how the Government spending is financed. This could make a decisive difference in its effect. If it were paid for entirely out of taxes, it would actually reduce the level of demand. If $4 billion more of government spending were paid for by an increased tax burden of $4 billion, then taxpayers would have at least $4 billion less to spend than before. But as increased tax burdens would reduce productive incentives still further, taxpayers' real income would fall by more than the additional $4 billion taken away from them. If, of course, the additional $4 billion of government spending came from increased deficit financing —if, in other words, it came by printing, directly or indirectly, $4 billion more paper money, then it might *add* to "demand"—if by demand we mean *monetary* demand—in brief, if we merely mean that the amount of paper money chasing goods would have been increased.

But this inflation would not necessarily assure "full" employment or even more employment than before. If wage rates were increased by union demands just as fast as, or faster than, prices and "demand" were increased by the bigger money supply, then profit margins or expected profit margins would be no better and employment would not be increased. Of course prices would be less stable, not more stable, and the balance-of-payments for the inflating country would be definitely worse. The U.S. balance-of-payments problem for the last three years has been mainly the result of our own inflation.

So Dale's "dazzlingly simple" remedy for all economic ills turns out to be a still bigger dose of the very monetary inflation which is the chief economic poison from which the postwar world has been suffering.

In the last half of his piece, Dale has a twinge of economic conscience: "Now a couple of qualifications. They do not change the main points, but they should at least be made. The first is that there must be some reasonable relation between government receipts and spending. Many governments in Europe run chronic deficits in their budgets by American accounting standards—which helps account for their success—but they cannot safely permit spending to run away from receipts without inflationary trouble."

What is a "reasonable" relation between government receipts and spending? At what point can spending be said to "run away" from receipts? When there is a 5 per cent excess of spending over receipts? A 10 per cent excess? 25 per cent? 100 per cent? Dale is either too careless or too canny to become less vague. One gathers only that the one harmful and ridiculous thing is to be prudent in government spending and to balance the budget. You must have *some* deficit spending, *some* inflation, if you want to get ahead in the world. You don't have to be concerned very much about taking an overdose: "Do not worry about fairly large deficits for a while until there is full employment again."

Suppose you get the inflation without the full employment? This is the combination we have had in the U.S. for the last year or two. There can be heavy unemployment, as scores of cases show, in a country that has gone through or is even still in the midst of a hyper-inflation. Dale doesn't sound as if he ever heard of this. His *a priori* assumption that deficit spending and inflation automatically bring full employment is so strong that he hasn't bothered to look up the facts.

Dale does come forward with a second qualification to his spending miracle. This "concerns the 'mix' of taxation. Judging strictly from results—and leaving out the theory—it seems that there is great merit in 'soaking the poor.' This is not as harsh as it sounds. What it means in practice in Western Europe is far greater reliance than in the United States (or Britain) on a set of taxes that indirectly hit the poor man hardest: excise and sales taxes of all kinds, turnover taxes, tax-on-value-added, heavy employer social contributions. . . No government in Western Europe relies nearly as much as the United States on [income?] taxes for its revenues."

Here Dale comes close to touching reality, but misses the point. It is not because continental Europe taxes "soak the poor" that they are less damaging to incentives, production and economic growth than our corporate and personal income taxes. At worst, excise taxes vary in proportion to personal expenditures, so that a man who spends ten times as much as another pays ten times as much. But as excise taxes are seldom put at more than nominal rates on basic necessities, and are highest on luxuries, the bigger spenders are taxed more than proportionately. The real lesson in the contrast between excise or sales taxes and progressive income taxes is that heavy corporate income and steeply progressive personal income taxes, as in Britain and the U.S., tax and penalize production rather than consumption; they discourage precisely the most productive elements in the nation; they profoundly discourage investment and siphon off precisely the funds that would be otherwise available for new investment to increase productivity, real wages and the "economic growth" that British and American politicians profess to be most eager to achieve.

More of the Poison

A final point. Dale tells us, in concluding, that: "The world now has a large and elastic supply to meet higher demand; thus it is a world in which demand can not only be profitably increased but, within reasonable limits, safely increased.

If Dale had ever studied Say's Law (which Keynesians think their master "refuted") he would know that under conditions of equilibrium —that is, with a proper relationship and coordination of wages and prices

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—supply creates its own demand, and that, in real terms, "supply" and "demand" are merely two names for the same thing looked at from different sides. Money is merely the medium of exchange. If prices and wages are free and flexible, there will be a constant tendency toward equilibrium. There is no need for monetary inflation—*i.e.*, for constant depreciation and debasement of the monetary unit—to assure this equilibrium. All that is necessary is for the government to repeal the legislation and halt the interventions of the last thirty years designed to boost wages and prices above their equilibrium levels—which means the levels to which free competition constantly tends to bring them.

Dale's article has been worth the examination I have just given it precisely because it typifies so well the position of our present day spenders, budget-unbalancers and inflationists. The more flagrantly their remedy fails, the more confidently they call for more and more of it.

The Grinslingers

JOHN MORRESSY

The regulars were at their corner table in the New Frontier when the stranger entered. They were sitting tilted back in their chairs, nursing the warm flat beer and listening to the old-timer spin his tales of the fast guns. At the creak and slap of the swinging door and the faint ring of spurs they turned to inspect the new arrival.

"Yuh know him, old-timer?" a young man asked.

"I ain't sure, Rocky. He looks kinda familiar. . . ."

"Don't pay him no mind, old-timer," said a sodbuster, scratching himself rhythmically. "He's jes' another saddle tramp, tha's all he is. Go on an' tell us about the Kid."

"Waal, like I was sayin', the Kid really made himself a name when he threw down on California Dick. Afore that, he was —"

"Didn't beat him out by much, though. That's whut I hear," Rocky interrupted.

"Don't see as how it makes much difference, Rocky. The Kid beat out California Dick, an' that's all he was aimin' to do. He didn't have to set no record."

"Waal, mebbe so," Rocky said, his habitual smile tightening and hardening as he met the old-timer's eye, "but I'm jes' gettin' a little sick of hearin' all this talk about the Hyannis Port Kid. Why, I bet you things woulda been different if'n he'd a drew on me, 'stead o' California Dick."

"Mebbe so, Rocky. Mebbe you'll get your chance someday."

At the bar, the stranger leaned forward wearily, studied the layout of the New Frontier through the mirror, then relaxed a bit. He pushed back his hat, brushed a thick shock of hair back from his forehead, and looked up at the bartender, who was staring at him.

"Ain't you —" the bartender began.

The stranger silenced him with a deadly glance. He leaned forward, beckoning the bartender closer.

"Muh name's Jack. Jes' plain Jack."

"Sure, sure, Kid —, I mean Jack! Don't you worry 'bout me none," the bartender said. "You can trust me!"

The stranger nodded. "Whiskey."

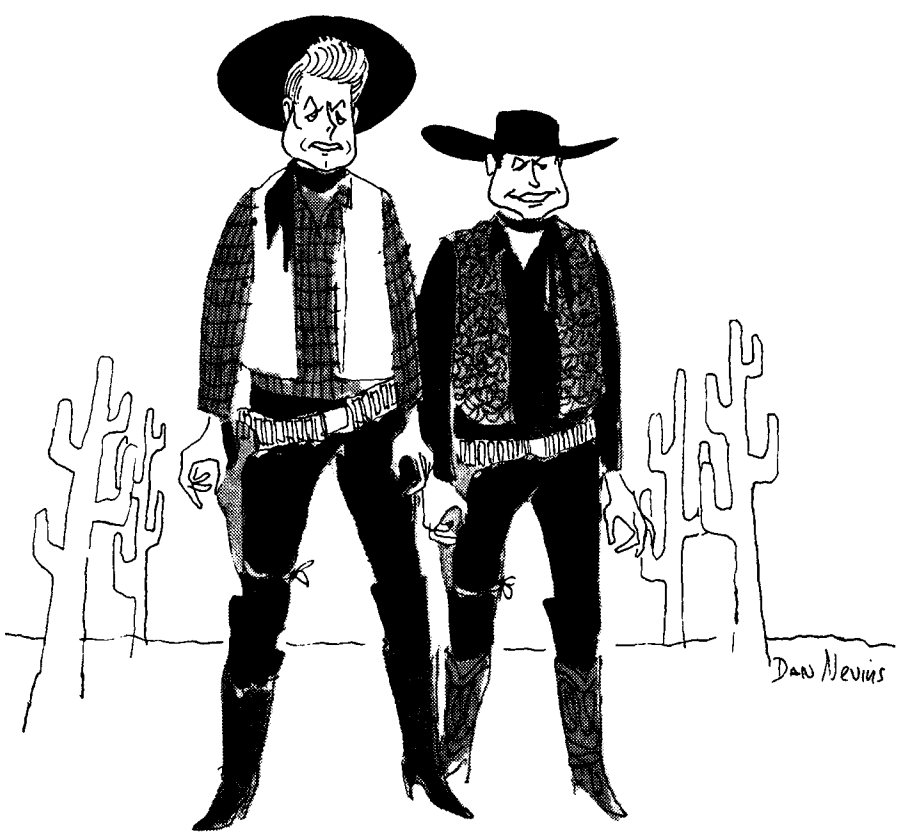
"Sure, Ki— Jack! Right away, Jack!"

As the bartender scurried away, the stranger turned for a better look at the saloon. It was new to him, but there was much about it that was familiar. His eye was caught by a young man, about his own age, he guessed, who sat with the bunch at the corner table. He had a quick ingratiating smile and appeared to be well-liked by his companions, but the stranger knew he meant trouble. He turned back to the bartender.

"Who's that one with the smile, barkeep?"

"Him? That's Rocky, Jack. He's . . . waal, he's sort o' top gun around these parts."

The stranger nodded, took the bottle from the bartender, and poured himself a drink. He turned, studied



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rocky for a moment, then drank the whiskey down.

Rocky looked up in time to see the stranger turn away. He stared at the back of the broad, dusty shoulders, looked down at the platinum-handled six-guns worn low and tied down, gunfighter-style, and hesitated for a moment. Then he nudged the old-timer.

"Whut's wrong, Rocky?"

"That stranger. Yuh sure yuh don't know him, old-timer?"

"Now look, Rocky, don't go gettin' —" the old-timer began.

"I think yuh know him, old-timer. Who is he?"

"Rocky, take it easy!" the old-timer said, gripping the young man's wrist. "Yuh ain't ready for —"

"The Hyannis Port Kid!" Rocky whispered tensely. He threw off the old-timer's restraining hand and fingered his gold-plated six-gun.

"Is that right, old-timer?" the sodbuster said, awed.

"Yep, tha's who he is, all right, but I didn't want Rocky to know," the old man said gloomily.

"Why not?" Rocky said, never taking his eyes off the figure at the bar.

"Cause yuh ain't ready to draw on the Hyannis Port Kid yet, Rocky. Mebbe in a few y'ars, but not now."

"I ain't so sure about that, old-timer," Rocky smiled.

"Remember, he got a couple brothers, Rocky," the sodbuster pointed out. "I hear one of 'em is a big lawman up North. Even if you draw fust on the Kid, they gonna be mighty tough to face."

"Now, whut's all this here talk 'bout me drawin' on the Hyannis Port Kid?" Rocky asked, flashing his most disarming smile. "Me an' the Kid, we're both in the same line o' business. I jes' aim to mosey over an' say hello, that's all. Ain't nothin' wrong with that, is there?"

"Waal, I guess . . ." the old-timer mumbled.

"Course there ain't," Rocky said, rising and pushing back his chair. "Don't you worry none 'bout Rocky."

He strode confidently to the bar and took a position about ten feet from the stranger. The bartender very cautiously placed a bottle and a glass in front of him.

"Whut's this, barkeep?" Rocky asked.

"The—the stranger's buyin'."

Rocky turned to the stranger, smiled winningly, hoisted his glass, and downed the whiskey. He smacked his lips in satisfaction and looked the newcomer in the eye. "Much obliged, stranger. My name's Rocky—whut's yours?

"Jack."

"Jack? You know, stranger, it's funny, but I coulda swore yuh was the Hyannis Port Kid."

"There's folks that call me that," the stranger said, moving away from the bar and easing his hand down toward his gun.

A sudden silence fell on the New Frontier. The bartender dropped out of sight. Two cattle buyers and a drunk at the end of the bar gulped their drinks and moved far off. Rocky stood his ground, fingering his empty glass.

"Mebbe we oughta have one last drink afore it gets noisy in here, Rocky," the stranger said. "Barkeep! Give us some whiskey!"

The bartender popped up like a terrified Punch, filled their glasses, and disappeared once more. Rocky lifted his glass.

"Know somethin', Kid? The whiskey allus tastes better when somebody else is buyin'."

The stranger broke the tense silence. "Rocky," he said, "I think mebbe you an' me got somethin' in common. Tell me—whut do yuh think of a man who says ever'body ought to pay for his own whiskey?"

Rocky, caught in the midst of a

(Continued on p. 138)

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

W.H. VON DREELE

Once upon a time there was an Arab leader whose initials were H.B. He spoke beautiful French and was often called A Friend of the West. One of his best friends was the great general with the long nose across the sea. Many people suspected that he sheltered the general's enemies, but to this he invariably replied: "Ain't nobody here but us chickens."

H.B. had a problem. Other Arabs thought the general was a dirty colonialist rat. When H.B. pointed out that the general had withdrawn all his soldiers from the country, no strings attached, they replied: "Oh yeah? What about Bizerte?" Sometimes they would become quite irrational and scream, "The general's mother wears army shoes!" Occasionally, they resorted to humor. (One angry young wag in Tunis is reported to have asked, "What's for Bizerte?") H.B. always responded to this criticism from brother Arabs by advising moderation. For this, he was justly famous.

Both H.B. and the general shared one thing in common. They both liked to live big. H.B. had never forgotten that his country had once spawned a great race of men. (It is recorded they might have been world-conquerors had their elephants not conked out.) One day, therefore, H.B. told the general he must pull out of Bizerte PDQ. But the general did not pull out. Instead, he pulled more troops *in*. He also repeated one of his famous phrases: *"Le grandeur, c'est moi."*

At this point, H.B. appealed to his new friend Jack in the big country George Washington built. This was a smart move. Jack believed that when public opinion in such places as Ghana, Guinea and Kuwait (not to mention the United Nations) ran counter to his own country's national interests, there was only one course to follow. Theirs. This view was quickly confirmed by his top advisers, who are, from left: Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Adlai Stevenson, Soapy Williams, Chester Bowles, Edward R. Murrow, J. Kenneth Galbraith, Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, Peter Lawford, Sammy Davis Jr., Shirley MacLaine and Minnie Mouse. Therefore, after six weeks during which time a note was hastily formulated, he decided to disavow his ancient ally. the general, in order to satisfy the Kuwaitis, the Ghanaians and the Guineans.

MORAL: *Even dirty Gertie from Bizerte wasn't* that *stupid.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

Enough of This Nonsense!

It is a military axiom that there is deadly danger inherent either in underestimating or in overestimating the enemy. Judging by the reactions of the American press, and of responsible American leaders generally, to the two major events of midsummer in the Soviet world—the publication of the draft of the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the putative multiple circumnavigation of the globe by Major Titov—we are managing the remarkable feat of underestimating *and* overestimating the Communist enemy at one and the same time.

Meyer

With wild abandon, half enthusiastic, half masochistic, the Soviet "feat" in rocketry was celebrated in a bacchanalian press orgy. The *New York Herald Tribune*, the most abjectly hysterical of the newspapers I saw, under a massive across-the-page headline projected the movie hero mug of Titov in the largest picture I have ever seen in a non-tabloid (four columns across and nine inches deep), with a screaming caption: "I Am Eagle. I Am Eagle." And under it, in exploded type, the text of "What the Eagle's Saying to Earth." Other headlines: "A Cold War Victory for Khrushchev"; "A 'Red Star' Over the U.S." In the lower left-hand corner the only note of sanity: "City's Strollers Unaware, or Skeptical of Spaceman."

That sanity of the man in the street is what is so egregiously lacking in the assessment of the Titov episode by official American society. At the very worst, and taking Soviet claims (unconfirmed by independent verification) at face value, the space probes by the Soviet Union and the United States over the past couple of years would seem to show that only in one area, the development of massive thrust, are we behind, and there only by a year or so. In every other area—in sophistication of instrumentation, in complexity, in a multi-valued program—we are obviously far ahead.

For the future of rocketry, Tiros and Samos represent achievements of far greater potential. For contemporary military purposes, the Soviet "achievements" are meaningless, since with the gamut of our weapons systems presently available—SAC, Polaris, Atlas, Titan—we are more than sufficiently equipped to pulverize the Soviet empire.

But consider how little we made of Tiros, compared to the multiple amplification we lent to Khrushchev's propaganda in the affair of Major Titov or to all the other Soviet space vauntings, from Sputnik I through the lost and now conveniently forgotten Venus probe.

This is the one side—*overestimation* of the physical power of the enemy—of the double error in our understanding that is steadily eroding our world position before the Communist drive towards universal domination. It is a fantastic acceptance, going beyond the military to the more extravagant domestic production claims, of the material power and success of the Communist system.

The other side—an equally disastrous *underestimation* of the enemy—is reflected in the attitude we have shown towards the most important ideological event in the Communist world in many years: the publication of the new Draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This is a remarkable *summa* of the Communist ideology as it has developed to this historical moment. It has a grandeur of concept, within the universe of Communist discourse, that calls for the most serious consideration as a manifesto of evil incarnate.

We have seemed incapable of rising to the challenge. Our criticism has been, not to put too fine a point upon it, limited to nitpicking. Instead of scarifying with scorn its dark vision of a juggernaut society moving from material triumph to material triumph by the subjugation and transformation of the individual human person, we have entered into a feeble contest of boasting about our material achievements as compared to theirs.

The whole point is missed. Television sets and vacuum cleaners and refrigerators are only symbols to the Communist mind. It is not with consumers' durable goods that they appeal, but with the concept of collectivist Man as the maker of heaven and earth.

Ourselves caught in the degeneration of the Western ethos, we are already half defeated. If perchance the Communists can achieve their goals, how can we, sunk into a materialist and proto-collectivist stupor, say them nay? As Brent Bozell wrote in these columns recently [NATIONAL REVIEW, August 12]: "The Christian West, especially the United States [has been] arguing its case in materialist terms . . . while materialistic Communism, with its teaching about the meaning of history, and the opportunity for controlling history that comes from such knowledge, was exciting the mind and spirit of men. The danger [is] that the West [will] be unable to see the struggle in any other terms."

It is here that the underestimation of the enemy arises. Forgetting our own origins in respect for the authority of God and for the immutable value of the individual person, we unguardedly enter the universe of the ideological outlook of materialist Communism, but on the lowest and pettiest level of creature comfort. We fail to see that at this game Communism must, by the inexorable logical extension of materialist premises, inevitably win. Its overweening materialist spirit, universal and militant in its pretensions, cannot be countered in its own terms.

Enough of this nonsense! The West can survive and conquer, but only if we cease to cower before the concepts of our enemies and assert again, proudly and resolutely, the truths of our heritage.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The College and Authority

If correctly reported in the *Wellesley College News* last spring, Wellesley's Dean of the Chapel, Mr. Charles A. M. Hall, seems to have fallen into a vulgar error concerning the nature of authority. I rather think that Dean Hall has been influenced by some remarks in a recent thoughtful book, Dr. Alexander Miller's *Faith and Learning* (Exposition Press), though perhaps not so deeply influenced as he ought to be. Anyway, Mr. Hall's sermon is useful as raising questions which are examined in the Miller book and in two other important books that touch on religious opinions in America today — Dean Robert Elliot Fitch's *Odyssey of the Self-Centered Self* [reviewed in *NR* June 3] and Professor Denis Baly's *Academic Illusion* (Seabury).

Kirk

"Speaking in his official capacity as Dean of the Chapel," the account of this sermon runs, "Mr. Hall outlined his views as to the moral tone of the college. Denying the concept of a college as an organ for instilling values within the individual, Mr. Hall stated that the goal of Wellesley is instead one of setting the individual free from all external authority, including her own." Inevitably, during the college years, Mr. Hall continued, there must occur a period of "brokenness," a breaking with old values and prejudices. "Mr. Hall stated that if the individual learns anything during college, it is the ability to rely on the inner self, what the Christian faith calls the conscience. He pointed out that the college cannot and will not attempt to spoon-feed the individual a quantity of principles and precepts which will become the basic context of one's conscience."

Now it is true enough that colleges and universities do not exist to instill "moral values." As Dr. Miller ably suggests in his book, Christianity is concerned not with woolly abstract "values," but with realities. The word "value" implies a relativism of taste and conduct which produces, at best, a vague eclecticism. The Decalogue is not a catalogue of "values"; it is a list of imperatives.

Yet it remains true also that college and university cannot remain indifferent to ethics, or to the consequences of study upon the lives of students. The whole purpose of education, higher and lower, is ethical, Irving Babbitt argues with great force. College training ought to be intellectual in character, not moralistic; yet it dare not ignore its ultimate ethical end. And one reason why some American colleges may seem morally didactic in their methods is that ethical instruction has been neglected at elementary and secondary levels, where it more properly belongs.

No Certitudes

Simply to break down prejudices and traditional beliefs among students, but to supply no certitudes by way of restoration, is a very risky venture in a college. "Mr. Hall stressed that the answer to the problem is not known, but that it lies partially in teaching the individual to be self-reliant."

Thus we are thrown back upon the feeble expedients of untutored conscience and Emersonian self-reliance. Precisely this intellectual flabbiness is the target of much of Dr. Fitch's *Self-Centered Self*. Taking for his example the sentimental complacency of Ralph Waldo Trine, Dean Fitch observes, "For the Neo-Christian Sentimentalists, moreover, it must be insisted that all this has no relationship to the historic teaching of the church. It is one thing to proclaim, in the Pelagian manner, that all you have to do is look for the Christ who is already within; and that you, too, can be a God-man just as easily as Jesus managed it, if you will but give the matter your attention. It is another thing to teach with Saint Paul that you need to have the Christ enter in where he is not now, and that whatever divine sonship you may attain to on your own does not in any way obviate the necessity for redemption by him who was uniquely the Son of God. However, a sentimental Christianity, under the banner of a liberal theology, has no difficulty at all in appropriating the revisionist rendering of Saint Paul as expounded by Emerson-Whitman-Trine."

Freedom and Authority

The contempt for authority which seems implicit in Mr. Hall's sermon is shrewdly dealt with in some passages of Dr. Baly's *Academic Illusion* —a book about Christian teaching in colleges. Without just authority, as Mr. Baly points out, freedom is not possible; and it is as true morally as it is politically. Conscience, indeed, is an authority of sorts; but it cannot do duty for every source of authoritative knowledge. John Henry Newman gives succinctly this description of authority: "Conscience is an authority; the Bible is an authority; such is the Church; such is Antiquity; such are the words of the wise; such are hereditary lessons; such are ethical truths; such are historical memories; such are legal saws and state maxims; such are proverbs; such are sentiments, presages, and prepossessions."

If, indeed, one can dispense with any authority except that of private judgment, why bother with a liberal education at all? One can experience "brokenness," for what it is worth, less expensively by getting a job at Woolworth's. Formal education necessarily consists, almost entirely, of imparting received opinions and a body of ascertained knowledge. "All the college can do is to try to teach each student how to discriminate for herself," Mr. Hall argued. But how does one discriminate without ascertainable standards? Protagoras, rather than Socrates, seems to be in vogue at Wellesley; and Walt Whitman, rather than Saint Paul.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Red China: Hard Look from India

RODNEY GILBERT

During the first ten years after the Chinese Communists won control of the mainland in 1949, the Peiping regime was host to quite a number of Indian visitors. Some were Indian Reds, of course, but many were non-Communist journalists, scholars, and what not. Because all intelligent Indians were keenly interested in hearing how things were going in China under applied Marxism, nearly all the returning Indian pilgrims broke into print; and, in their reports, there was almost never a trace of disapproval of what they had seen. It was all wonderful, as indeed it was; but no visitor had the courage to say, as some have since admitted, that the experience was as wonderful as a tour of a madhouse. To have reported anything like that would have been to run afoul of the Nehru government's incessant public praise of the sweet and lovely relations that existed and would always exist between India and Red China.

Then, in the middle of 1959, Professor Sripati Chandra-sekhar, one of India's most esteemed pundits in the economic field, came home from a winter in Red China and blew off steam. He wrote for many publications at home and abroad, including several in this country. The essence of what he had to say to all was that, while he had gone to Red China fully prepared to be "impressed," he had come away "stifled, sad and disillusioned." About specific situations such as that in Mao Tse-tung's model commune in Honan, he was more severe. The conditions under which China's rural masses are now condemned to live he found simply "hellish."

Red China: An Asian View, by Sripati Chandra-sekhar. Praeger, $4.00 cloth, $1.75 paper

Although Mr. Chandra-sekhar is, in a general way, an economist, having studied and taught as such in this country and elsewhere, he is best known as a demographer, a student of population problems. So it was that when he went to Red China nothing was of more interest to him than China's staggering population and what a Communist regime might or might not do about it. And so it also happens quite naturally that the longest chapter by all odds in this book is on China's population problems. Surprisingly enough, too, it is one of the most interesting revelations of Communist hocus-pocus, and has as nasty a sting in its tail as any of the author's essays—which is saying a lot.

In his introduction Mr. Chandra-sekhar says that various chapters in his book have already appeared in various periodicals, but there is nothing elsewhere in the book to indicate that this or that chapter is second-hand and has not been revised. For this your reviewer thinks that the publisher should be gently spanked; for in the undated essay on agricultural production, for example, in which the author seems to accept Communist claims of greatly increased production, there is nothing to indicate that Mr. Chandra-sekhar ever heard of the acknowledged crop failures of the past two years, and no apology, even in an editorial note, for his failure to include them in his calculations.

Yet what he did see and speculate upon down to the middle of 1959 is of real interest. Apart from his discussion of farm production under conditions which he thought "hellish," he has a chapter on industry, crediting Soviet engineers and technicians with most of the great achievements, a chapter based on his visit to the show places. He discusses with some approval the new status of women, free now to marry without parental check; but is by no means sure that he approves of the release of women from homemaking chores into their new slavery as workers in mines and steel foundries and for mule-like labor on the land.

But to go back to that interesting population problem: what our Indian expert has to say about the future of a population of more than six hundred million, growing at the rate of perhaps twenty million a year, is interesting enough; but it is more interesting because of the light it throws on Red Chinese thought control.

The final returns of the census of 1953-54, revealing the staggering fact that there were nearly 600 million Chinese within Red China's borders, were scarcely common knowledge before the first suggestions of birth control were published with official approval. Great pains were taken immediately, of course, to explain that the regime's interest was by no means to be construed as a surrender to the Malthusian belief that there could ever be too many people anywhere. The regime's only concern was for the health of working mothers and their children. But the first tentative suggestions of birth control developed, almost overnight, into a great nation-wide campaign. Every medium of publicity went into it whole hog. Public halls in which the use of contraceptives were demonstrated appeared everywhere. With Soviet help four factories were established for the manufacture of the officially approved contraceptives.

This campaign grew and grew in volume and intensity until, one day in May 1959, it ended as abruptly as one can turn off the lights with a switch. The next day it was all heresy. Some ukase from on high had decreed the end of it, and everything that had been right on Mon-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

day became all wrong on Tuesday.

The source of this decree Mr. Chandra-sekhar does not reveal, if he ever learned it. He takes up instead at great length the sad case of a certain Dr. Ma Yin-chu, President of Peking University, who was subjected to savage post-campaign persecution because he had written, in the thick of it, a very intelligent article in support of it. Our author concludes his long account of this case with the remark that the lesson to be learned from this controversy is that "one cannot afford to be intellectually honest under Communism."

THIS BOOK as it comes to us is in two parts. The first three-quarters of it is about what the author saw of Red China and thought of it. The final quarter is about India's relations with Red China under existing or fairly recent conditions. There is a chapter on Tibet, in which there is nothing new for those who have read the vast amount published on this subject. But with his usual sting-in-the-tail, the author says: "China is bound to realize sooner or later that in gaining Tibet she has lost Asia."

As for the rest of what Mr. Chandra-sekhar has to say about Red China, India and Asia generally, the outstanding features of his arguments are these:

Red China should not be admitted to the United Nations.

India should alter her foreign policy, abandoning a neutralism which the Reds will not permit her to sustain with any self-respect. India must seek new affiliations, presumably with the West.

Finally, as one might expect from an Indian, I suppose, it is argued that as India goes, so will go Asia; and that how India goes will depend very largely upon what the United States of America does for India.

There is an appeal for support in these last lines of the book to which the average American will not be indifferent if and when India's attitude toward Red imperialism elicits our sympathy and admiration—when Prime Minister Nehru begins to think and talk like Mr. Chandra-sekhar.

Reasoning on Race

GARRY WILLS

NOTHING could be rarer or more welcome than a reasoned book on race; but Carleton Putnam's *Race and Reason* is not the book. The Liberal ideologue sees only an undifferentiated, gray sameness among men, and will not even allow race to be discussed. But Mr. Putnam finds nothing but difference; in more ways than one, he sees everything "in black and white." This is not because Mr. Putnam is a "racist" in the ordinary sense. He subtitles his book "A Yankee View," and it is true that his passionate simplifications arise not from personal contacts and dislikes, but from the pure pursuit of a single theory. Like the Yankee Liberals, he is not talking about real men, but about an abstract idea; only where the Liberal is unbalanced on the idea of Sameness, Mr. Putnam goes astray on the idea of Difference. Both approaches lack the multiple norms, the restrictions, the degrees of certitude distinguished, that characterize the few sane treatments of the subject (notably Nathaniel Weyl's *The Negro in American Civilization*).

Race and Reason: A Yankee View, by Carleton Putnam. Public Affairs, $3.25

In all history's range, Mr. Putnam argues, no Negro nation has achieved great cultural heights; therefore, the Negro is incapable of absorbing a high culture. One of Mr. Putnam's fallacies is to equate the *initiation* of culture and its *absorption*. Another is to think that all nations or continents start on the same level plateau, and can be directly compared.

Mr. Putnam has an over-simple view of difference as inferiority. For instance, he asserts that Negroes are inferior to white men because they have less talent for abstract or original thought, and few or no geniuses. But even if Mr. Putnam could establish that the Negro has less abstract intelligence than the white man, would that automatically prove the Negro's inferiority? Or even if it did, would this be an argument against mixing of the races? The older racial schools to which Mr. Putnam appeals made a great deal of the stiffening of effete cultures with a little barbarian blood. Mr. Putnam's simple reduction of everything to the purely biological breeding of excellence could well lead to the extremes of integration which he deplores!

The metaphysical concept of man's equality Mr. Putnam dismisses with a characteristic argument: Thomas Jefferson, he says, merely misquoted the "equally *free*" of the Virginia Declaration of Rights when he wrote "all men are created equal." Mr. Putnam produces this argument several times, each time with great flourish, as the solution to the whole question of "equality." Such simplification rests on a whole series of assumptions. It assumes, first, that the idea of equality is based on nothing but Jefferson's single phrase: second,

If you are a 100 percenter you'll want to read
BORAH
by Marian C. McKenna
from your bookseller or from the University of Michigan Press
$7.50 Ann Arbor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Jefferson did not write the Declaration of Independence with any care, meaning what he said, but merely copied (and that in a mutilated form) older maxims and scraps of words: third, that Jefferson was not only a faulty amanuensis, but a dishonest editor, who never corrected the mistake he made.

Mr. Putnam has an even more grotesque refutation of the Christian concept of "man's equal worth in God's eyes," arguing that if men were equal they would all be saved. But the real test of Mr. Putnam's simple world of black and white is that he actually thought he could solve the race problem by writing to President Eisenhower in 1954 and explaining a few things to him. It is a shame to disturb such innocence.

The race problem is a thing far more complex and tragic than the Liberal, on one hand, or Mr. Putnam, on the other, can see. It is not the result of a refusal to grasp the theories of absolute sameness or absolute difference. There is a basic equality among all those creatures who have been given the immeasurable privilege and responsibility of thought and free will. On this level, we do not ask whether one is a genius or a dolt, kind or rude, man or woman, adult or child, white or black. A gift so exceptional, so unique, as that of thought and choice dwarfs all the subsequent differences in the uses to which intelligence or volition are put. The basic rights of man exist wherever the basic condition of man exists.

But precisely because these basic rights are not commensurate with the comparatively minor differences among men, the distinctions based on these minor differences are not a violation of basic rights. A child has no basic right to be free of his parents. The mere ability to think does not give a man the right to plan the nation's future. In the same way, a vote, a certain job, a certain status or degree of popularity are not basic human rights. At certain stages of certain societies, it may be socially desirable to give all men a vote or an education. Yet these are still not basic human rights, called for by the imperious demands of justice, but simply steps by which a society improves itself.

The obscuring of the differences between basic rights and socially desirable (or undesirable) privileges is what the Liberals are at present trying to achieve. The results of this blurring of two diverse things is a violation of them both. The legal demands of justice are obscured (as in the recent constitutional aberrations). And the desirable privileges and standards of society are destroyed.

The way to preserve the standards of society is not to appeal, with Mr. Putnam, to biological guesses or probabilities. The conservative position, opposed to the Liberals' ill-fated utopias, is one which stresses the importance of tradition, of the slow accumulation of the social patterns of excellence; of the continuity, so easily and disastrously disrupted, of any society's effort to maintain the rare, precarious, precious blessing of human civilization.

Coal Stoves and High Table

ALOISE HEATH

GEORGE W. BEADLE may have been a visiting professor at Oxford, he may be a Nobel Prize-winning geneticist, he may be Chancellor of the University of Chicago, but he doesn't deserve a wife like Muriel nor does he deserve to be co-hero of her chatty

and charming little book, *These Ruins Are Inhabited*—not just because he begins every other sentence with "Gee, honey," but because no man deserves her.

In 1958 Dr. Beadle, who was teaching at the California Institute of Technology, was asked to occupy the Eastman chair at Oxford University (an appointment which, incidentally, entitled him to be a Fellow of Balliol College, but a Fellow whose voting privileges had been withdrawn ever since the too vigorous participation in college affairs of a former Eastman professor called Felix Frankfurter).

Even as would you and I, the Beadles, *mère, père,* and fifteen-year-old *fils,* accepted with alacrity; and after they had recovered from the shock of finding romantic old Oxford a dirty, traffic-choked little industrial city and the "stone cottage" they had been promised a no-nonsense stone box which thriftily shared its side

These Ruins Are Inhabited, by Muriel Beadle. Doubleday, $4.95

walls with its two neighbors, they settled happily into the life of an Oxford don and his family. That is, George found himself catapulted into a busy round of academic and social events; young Redmond threw himself enthusiastically into the schoolboy life of lessons and Rugby, and Mrs. Beadle stayed home and adjusted the damper on the coal stove. *Cheerfully.*

(Actually, this is not quite fair to the coal stove. Its behavior was not so eccentric that Muriel didn't get a chance, once in a while, to trim the wicks on the paraffin heaters.)

Any woman anywhere knows it's a man's world, but this fact must be rather more vivid to Oxford faculty wives than to any other female group this side of nineteenth-century Siam. It seems that Oxford colleges serve dinner in Hall (the college dining-halls, from which women are excluded) every night and since, explains the philosophical Mrs. Beadle, "the colleges set a better table than any woman can [six courses and seven wines] and the after-dinner

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conversation of fellow scholars in a senior common room is likely to be more interesting than the domestic trivia of a wife's day," men and women at Oxford quite naturally lead separate social lives. (*Especially* naturally, you'd think, when you consider the domestic trivia of an Oxford don's wife's day.)

Mrs. Beadle allows herself a single wistful instant. Of all the banquets she was not invited to attend ("dinners" are what women are not allowed *at* in Oxford; "banquets" are what they are not invited *to*) she most missed the celebration, according to the invitation, of "the 350th anniversary of Sir Will Davenant's 52nd birthday and his happy release from the Tower after his fourth imprisonment therein and to drink to the health of the Swan of Isis."

For one glorious week, though, Muriel was included in all the gay festivities her husband had become accustomed to—when they went to Sweden, where Dr. Beadle accepted his Nobel Prize. There the three Beadles embarked upon an enchanted round of receptions and reviews, ceremonies and processions, balls and banquets. But the magic week came to an end, as do all magic weeks. Soon Cinderella Beadle, her ears still ringing with the music of the Royal orchestra, her eyes still dazzled from the thousand-candle Court chandeliers, opened the door of the "stone box" in Oxford and re-entered the camaraderie of the coal stove and the paraffin heaters. And what did Prince Charming say? Prince Charming said: "Wow! Another week like that one, and I'd never have gotten you into the kitchen again."

In *These Ruins Are Inhabited,* Muriel Beadle presents an intelligent and good-humored picture of the contrast between the lives of upper-middle-class American and upper-middle-class English women. Upper-middle-class American women should read this book and thank their lucky stars. Upper-middle-class American men should read it only if they have confidence in the teeth they use to gnash.

Books of Interest

The White Nile, by Alan Moorehead (Harper, $5.95). A book one likes to read, if only to think again of Chinese Gordon holding Khartoum in a clean white suit, ordering that his palace blaze with lights, even as the Mahdi bided his time outside.

Five Plays, by John O'Hara (Random House, $5.00). None of them ever before published or produced on Broadway; all of them peopled with those golden children who live somewhere east of Gibbsville and west of Desolation—but are anyway sometimes amusing company.

Man and Dolphin, by John C. Lilly, M.D. (Doubleday, $4.95). An enchanting account of the author's research (financed in part by the Navy) on dolphins, which, if they wanted to, could presumably detect submarines, capture spies, attach atomic nuclear warheads to vessels, and "sneak up on an enemy submarine sitting on the bottom and shout something into the listening gear." All of this, Mr. Lilly points out, if those dolphins turn out not to be pacifists.

The Natural, by Bernard Malamud (Noonday, $1.65). A paperback edition of Malamud's first and finest novel, originally published in 1952; a small classic about a baseball player who wanted only to be "the greatest there ever was in the game."

Science

Modern Creation Myth

DONALD COWAN

STORIES about the creation of the universe and of man contain the values by which a society abides and on which a culture rests; they are the myths which have always been formulated by a scientific type of mind, but never before our own day has their content been ideological rather than metaphysical. Religion and the arts do not now play their traditional role in the shaping of these myths; and though philosophy still lends its hand, it does so in the guise of epistemology rather than ethics, of psychology rather than ontology. This condition is quite likely no more healthy for science itself than for society.

For whatever reason, our modern cosmological myths are devoid of moral and spiritual content: they picture a universe in which human thought and action are rich but irrelevant details, a material order which nowhere partakes of the sacramental. Despite the somberness of the tale, however, it has not lacked tellers. Four recent books essay this often attempted task, not with complete success. One of these volumes is by a journalist, one by a biologist, one by an astronomer, and the remaining one by a physicist. None is an uncolored account. Each author presumes, consciously or not, to interpret the meaning of the universe. Yet none thinks it necessary, we may be sure, to examine critically the myth which underlies his work.

Springtime of the Stars, by Georges Beau. Criterion Books, $3.95

Man in Nature, by Marston Bates. Prentice-Hall, $2.95

Man's View of the Universe, by R. A. Lyttleton. Little, Brown, $3.95

Biography of Physics, by George Gamow. Harper, $5.95

M. Georges Beau, the French journalist, begins his discussion of the earth's origin with a description of the many ways in which the earth could end. Barring one of these possible but not probable catastrophes, he predicts that the human race

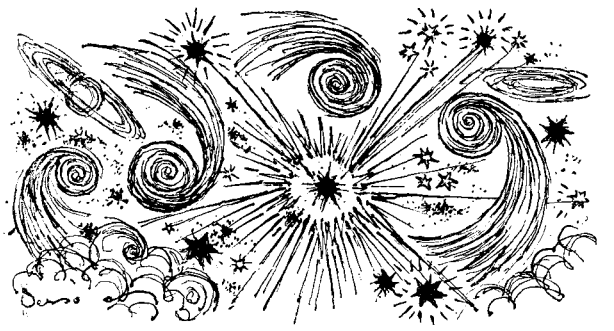
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should serve out the remainder of the "galactic year," that is, one revolution of the galaxy, with the insects taking over in the next. It may be a comfort to some of us to know that, according to the scheme of *Springtime of the Stars,* we have a hundred and fifty million years before winter catches us. M. Beau's volume is an admirable redigestion of scientific theory and lore, including flying saucers, but its effect is entertainment rather than information.

The biologist of this quartet of authors, Dr. Marston Bates, writes in more human terms than do the others, as befits his subject. In *Man in Nature* Dr. Bates presents a brief, easily read account of man's physical and social position among the animals. It is a curiously old-fashioned book, reminding us that biology as a science has never really defined itself. For the most part, biologists have avoided analytical disciplines; they have chosen to make bed with psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists, rather than with physicists and mathematicians. Consequently the analogies they construct are colored by the same humanistic meliorism that social scientists employ. There is some promise of a new movement within the discipline, but Professor Bates gives no indication of it; instead he has provided us with a simple account of the old biology which any child could read, whether he should or not.

The British astronomer R. A. Lyttleton, in *Man's View of the Universe,* presents a lucid, authoritative account of what has been observed, and what supposed, about the stars. Terse, almost humorless, it is nonetheless fascinating. Professor Lyttleton has the integrity of an author writing about what he knows and is responsible for. His is the best popular description of the universe so far available.

George Gamow, famed nuclear physicist, has had much to say in the past about creation, but in the present book he confines his attention to more recent events. His *Biography of Physics* is an outline of our most fundamental science, organized around a pretext of history. His gross misunderstanding of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is inexcusable in an author who attempts the historical organization—inexcusable, that is, in anyone but Gamow. Dr. Gamow has never let ignorance, prejudice, or error hamper his enthusiastic pursuit of intuition; consequently, he has contributed many ideas to science: In this book, his account is tedious, dull, and marred by careless errors as long as he is writing about physicists and physics he has known only through reading, but it is lively and enlightening when he discusses men and ideas encountered firsthand. The man's charm shines through his anecdotes. It is a book not worth having written, perhaps, but much of it is worth having.



ALL FOUR of these men, in their various ways, have "sung creation." Each bard chants a different version, but the myth of which they all tell can be sketched in its broad outlines. It is composed of sober, accurate observation and wild, uncritical extrapolation. If we state it in summary form, it goes something like this:

Hydrogen is continually being created in empty space. Gravity tends to draw new material into clouds but, paradoxically, also to drive the clouds apart and so produce an expanding universe. The clouds gather into spheres which reach an internal pressure and temperature sufficient to initiate fusion and produce stars. As the stars grow older, heavier elements are produced, the heaviest being formed in tremendous explosions hurling matter out into the galactic cloud of dust, to participate in the building of new stars. Of such stuff our sun and a companion star were made.

Some 4,500 million years ago, these two were circling about each other when an invading star struck the companion, hurling it into space but leaving behind whirling bits of debris to revolve about the sun as planets. Thus our solar system as we know it came to be, situated about two-thirds of the way out on a spiral arm of our spinning galaxy. The galaxy completes a revolution in 250 million years, each revolution corresponding, perhaps, to major epochs in the earth's history. Traces of life began eight revolutions ago; the great reptiles dominated the last revolution; and man is wholly a product of the present one. Manlike creatures evolved about a million years ago, but modern man appeared only 50,000 years ago, after the last glacial recession. Since that time there have been no evolutionary changes in man; indeed, as Professor Bates remarks, "Cro-Magnon man could have made and flown an airplane if his culture had reached that evolutionary stage."

The collision required in the process outlined would make rather unlikely the existence of another earth suitable for life. Our mythmakers are not happy with this situation, for the ideology which they have unwittingly adopted demands that our space, our time, our galaxy, our sun, our planet, our country, and ourselves occupy no preferred position in the cosmic scheme. Accordingly, Professor Lyttleton supposes that the collision theory will soon be replaced by a suitable substitute which will remove the uniqueness from our earthly existence. The same principle of universal egalitarianism governs the growing preference of the continual creation theory over the primeval atom hypotheses which Gamow has sponsored, this despite findings in recent radio-astronomy which seem to rule in favor of the latter.

Measurable observations, the numbers associated with phenomena, cannot be tampered with; but the shaping of these observations into the theories which constitute our scientific knowledge—and our consequent myths—are subject to the scientist's unconscious and therefore unquestioned values. The completely secular ideology of the modern scientist is reflected in the total relativism of our dominant cosmological myth.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Movies

Herr Hamlet

FRANCIS RUSSELL

THE Germans, of course, are noted for their ponderosity. They invented iron crosses and Ph.D's, the decline of the West and expressionism. One often comes across them engaged in odd weighty operations like counting all the leaves on a tree, or translating *Finnegans Wake* or the Cantos of Ezra Pound. To the classically minded French the Germans were *les Allemands, les drôles*—at least up until 1870.

It is only the Germans who would have thought of adapting *Hamlet* to modern ends, as Helmut Kautner has done in *The Rest Is Silence*. A few years back some French director modernized *Manon*. The films make a curious comparison, for both are set in the years after World War II, and the differences between them are the differences between the Gallic and the Teutonic mind. *Manon* as a film was credible, *unser Hamlet* is not. However, *The Rest Is Silence* is worth seeing, if only to contemplate some of the social aspects of the *Wirtschaftswunder*, the brave new world of Volkswagens.

No one can say the Germans aren't thorough, for Kautner casts his allegory like a metaphysical fish net. John H. (for Hamlet) Claudius, the son of a Ruhr industrial king, has spent fifteen years — including the years of World War II—teaching modern philosophy at Harvard. His father, presumably killed in an air raid, was actually murdered during the attack by his uncle Paul. Paul Claudius, long the lover of John H.'s mother Gertrude, marries her after the murder and takes over the rule of the industrial empire. And there we are, the stage is set.

John H., while still at Harvard, receives several late night warning telephone calls from his dead father, the ghost presumably taking advantage of the lower evening rates—although it is all explained later as auditory hallucination. He returns to the Claudius homestead, the older part of which resembles the Krupps' Villa Hügel, the postwar addition looking more like Harvard's new Quincy House (which in turn resembles a refrigerator plant). Uncle Paul, he discovers, was his father's evil genius, guiding him into cooperation with the Nazis and finally murdering him. The rest is not so much silence as sleuthing.

As for the other characters, they are worked out with jigsaw ingenuity. Ophelia becomes Fee von Pohl, a wistful and most convincing schizophrenic. Polonius is Dr. von Pohl. Horatio turns out to be Major Horace, an ex-Nazi, back from years of imprisonment in Siberia. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are two fancy-boy ballet directors, Stanley Goulden and Mike R. Krantz. Voltinand becomes the psychiatrist Dr. Voltmann, Fortinbras the police inspector Fortner. Young Herbert von Pohl is, of course, Laertes, and there are a couple of gravediggers. Old Doc Freud does the prompting. The fateful play within the play is this time an expressionist ballet. Gertrude walks out in agitation, but whether this is conscience or merely that she—like myself—has seen one expressionist ballet too many, I cannot tell.

It is all very profound. Hamlet and Freud—who could lose? That sort of thing could be analyzed indefinitely. I believe critics have already suggested that John H. is in love with his mother and she with him.

For me, the glimpses of the rebuilding and rebuilt Germany were the most intriguing parts of the picture. Now if Herr Kautner could just have stuck to that and left the melancholy instructor at Harvard where he obviously belongs and left *out unser* Shakespeare, he might have gained in substance what he lost in pretentiousness. Walking from the theater I found myself thinking back the years to when I was a student at the University of Griefswald. Someone in our English seminar was one day paraphrasing Masefield's *Sea Fever* (in rural Greifswald we were still pre-*Wasteland*). I remember how insistently he maintained that the phrase "the wheel's kick" meant that Masefield had a one-cylinder engine in his sailboat that "kicked" at each revolution. The professor asked me what I thought, and I assured him this was undoubtedly what Masefield had meant.

"I BEG YOU, do not underrate the energy of the Communist will or the sweep of its strategic vision, simply because it seems improbable to you."

Whittaker Chambers

Of the articles Whittaker Chambers wrote for *National Review*, none was more relevant—or more prophetic—than his memorable "Soviet Strategy in the Middle East." Written almost four years ago, it reads today like a blueprint of subsequent Communist moves: the infiltration of North Africa to outflank Europe; the gaining of a springboard in West Africa (Guinea, Ghana) from which to penetrate Latin America (already accomplished in Cuba!). Chambers predicted it all, and much more! More vital today than ever before, this truly remarkable document belongs in the hands of every serious conservative.

We are proud to announce SOVIET STRATEGY as the second in the series of National Review's CURRENT EVENTS Pamphlets

Written as only Whittaker Chambers could write, SOVIET STRATEGY is reprinted in a distinctive 12-page pamphlet format, perfect for mailing to friends—and to the countless persons in public life who should read it. You may order *now* at the special prices listed below:

NATIONAL REVIEW
150 East 35 Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I enclose $..... Please send me, fully postpaid, ... copies of Whittaker Chambers' *Soviet Strategy*.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone..... State.....

Price Schedule for this Pamphlet

25¢ a single copy
10 copies for $2.20
100 copies for $20.00

National Review pays postage and handling on all orders, regardless of size. To order, use the coupon or your own stationery.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE NATION'S SAFETY AND ARMS CONTROL, by Arthur T. Hadley (Viking $3). Attempting to unite the requirements of national defense with precautions against nuclear holocaust, the author argues for an "arms control" system limiting Moscow and Washington each to a fixed number of nuclear weapons. Such a system, he believes, offers the best opportunity for "a more stable world." The argument begs the question of whether the stabilization of a world in chains is a proper goal of American policy. It would institutionalize a deadlock in which America's atomic strength is cancelled by apprehensions of equivalent striking power in the USSR, and by the conviction that, rather than win the cold war, we must cling grimly to the *status quo*. The result: absolute assurance that we shall never unlock the Soviet prisonhouse, and a zone of immunity for Communist insurrection, subversion and infiltration. M. S EVANS

YUGOSLAVIA, by Muriel Heppell and Frank B. Singleton (Praeger, $5.95). This sketch of Yugoslav history and pre-history was done, not surprisingly, by a couple of Britishers with deep-rooted and in several ways "rewarding" personal connections with "the new Yugoslavia." Their book might well have been put together on Belgrade's Madison Avenue (or on ours, for that matter). After a survey of the medieval South Slavs (who were a pretty reactionary and aggressive crowd), we get a quick look at the deplorable social and political conditions under the *ancien régime*, *ante* 1941, and finally come to the point with the glorious rise of Tito the Great and the advent of the new order. The "Fascist thugs," the plundering, vengeful, collaborationist Chetniks of Mihailovich, the "terrorist" Pavelich "inspired by Catholic fanaticism," and then Tito's heroic army, Tito's "social reforms," Tito's "new way of life," Tito's régime "supported by the mass of the Yugoslav People," Tito's "workers' self-government," Tito's "experiment in economic democracy" ("Time alone can tell whether Yugoslavia has

REVOLT ON THE CAMPUS

by M. Stanton Evans

The conservative element on campus on the offensive: Mr. Evans, frequent contributor to National Review, illustrates the scope and power of the conservative movement among young people, examines the philosophical premises of the movement and its performance in practical politics.

Order #35 *$4.50*

4. **GUERRILLA WARFARE,** *by* Che Guevara. *How to wreck our society by a Latin practitioner.* *$3.50*
29. **SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG,** *4 Vols. The theory and practice of despotism by the peasant who did it.* *$12.00*
22. **OLD HOUSE OF FEAR,** *by* Russell Kirk. *Adventure, romance, mystery, terror—a Gothick thriller set in Scotland by a master writer.* *$3.95*
14. **RUSSIA AND THE WEST UNDER LENIN AND STALIN,** *by* George F. Kennan. *Despite the political conclusions, still a literate, thorough history of the emerging monolithic threat.* *$5.75*
33. **CHESTERTON: MAN & MASK,** *by* Garry Wills. *An astonishing summary of the works and the man who could make philosophers giggle by a zealous fan.* *$4.50*
11. **MIDCENTURY,** *by* John Dos Passos. *The camera eye sweeps the scene again. This time the novel is even better, the corruption is in low places, and the frauds are the heroic archetypes of liberalism.* *$5.95*
1. **UP FROM LIBERALISM,** *by* Wm. F. Buckley Jr. *The contradictions of a bankrupt political tendency by Schlesinger's sparring partner.* *$3.50*
2. **GOD AND MAN AT YALE,** *by* Wm. F. Buckley Jr. *How academicians have confused their purpose by the exorcist of cant.* *$3.50*
13. **THE MOULDING OF COMMUNISTS,** *by* Frank S. Meyer. *A precise description of the theory and training of members of the cadre by a man who knows.* *$5.00*
28. **A BURNT-OUT CASE,** *by* Graham Greene. *A master novelist looks in on an architect who tries the Schweitzer bit in darkest Africa, but who ends up shot by the planter husband.* *$3.95*
34. **AN INFLATION PRIMER,** *by* Melchior Palyi. *Inflation is the hand-maiden of the welfare state. The primer won't tell you all there is to know about inflation, but almost all—by a hard hitting, lively economist.* *$4.00*

Here is Your Order Form...

Please send me right away the books whose numbers I have circled in the quantities marked. Forefront Books will pay all mailing expenses.

I am enclosing my check for $.....as payment in full. (New York City residents add 3% sales tax.)

35	29	14	11	2	28
4	22	33	1	13	34

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

forefront books, inc.

527 WEST 113th STREET • NEW YORK 25, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A distinguished thinker applies himself to one of the most urgent problems facing us today: the inevitable conflict of communism and democracy.

REASON AND FAITH IN MODERN SOCIETY

Liberalism, Marxism, and Democracy

By EDUARD HEIMANN

"Eduard Heimann has given us a more authoritative analysis of the functions and of the limits of reason in political life than any modern thinker. His new book is of great import."
—REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Mr. Heimann's book, grounded in a lifetime of study and thought, shows why the head-on conflict of communism and democracy is inevitable and how the way out lies in a specific course of thought and action stemming from the ethical and social ideals of the world's great religions.

No book of facile talk and comfortable answers, it demands of its readers a facing of hard truths and hard thinking about them; it points to a course of action perhaps equally hard. Its conclusions, though they run counter to much popular belief, must command attention and respect.

Wesleyan University Press
MIDDLETOWN 3, CONNECTICUT

Please send me _____ copies of REASON AND FAITH IN MODERN SOCIETY by Eduard Heimann at $6.50 each.
☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me
(sent postage paid if remittance is enclosed)

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

NR

developed a new and higher form of democracy"—*n.b.* correct answer: it has)—they're all there, all alive and on the inside, in the season's biggest little carnival of apology, New-Think, and rosy coexistence.

J. D. FUTCH

THE EDGE OF THE SWORD: *Israel's War of Independence, 1947-1949*, by Netanel Lorch (Putnam, $7.95). When the UN voted partition of Palestine in late 1947, neither side had any real intention of abiding by the boundaries. The five neighboring Arab states immediately sent what they liked to call their Regular Armies to the aid of their local brethren; and Jews all over the world sent aid to theirs. The Arabs proved pitifully inept at just about everything, while the Jews turned out to be very good at everything. In defeating the various Arab forces (with the notable exception of the British-trained Jordanian Arab Legion), the Jews also demonstrated a courage and a military competency that was remarkable. They demonstrated it again in the Suez War. All in all, a political record no worse than many; a military record better than most. Why then does the author of this book, a former Israeli Army officer, feel the need to produce a blatant piece of political propaganda? There is no attempt at objectivity—despite the ludicrous introduction by the noted American military writer, S.L.A. Marshall. There is, in fact, very little that resembles military history. Had the author simply given the facts, he would have done everyone a favor, and most of all the homeland he seems to think he must whitewash.

J. P. MCFADDEN

IT STANDS TO REASON, by Rudolf Harvey, O.F.M. (Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., $4.95). One night a bright young thing, doubtless from Radcliffe, bounced up to the bandstand that managed to contain the late, estimable Fats Waller and earnestly inquired, "Mr. Waller, what *is* this thing called swing?" Waller, measuring his questioner with a baleful glare, thundered, "Woman, if you don't know by now, don't mess with it!" Father Harvey perhaps would say the same of philosophy. But, although he knows there can be no philosophy without tears, his book nevertheless achieves the useful but modest objective of providing a gentleman's introduction to the Aristotelian-Thomist synthesis. As befits an introduction, the author brushes aside the obstacles and plunges on. Professional philosophers are warned to spare themselves the burning sensation they will experience reading this book. But for the layman, and for the alumnus who wonders where the philosophy went when he folded his academic tent, Father Harvey's chatty and often epigrammatic style provides the best introduction in English to the serene wisdom of the perennial philosophy.

N. MCCAFFREY

GOETHE'S FAUST, by Walter Kaufmann (Doubleday, $4.50). Goethe's epic - romantic - classic - medieval opera-morality play tops even Polonius' exercise in the cross-breeding of a "poem unlimited." A poetry that succeeds, like Faust himself, in eating all kinds of cake and having it too can hardly be translated with success. But Kaufmann's effort at least succeeds in different places than the older versions. Kaufmann is the scholar who has treated every aspect of Nietzsche except that thinker's pent-up poetry; and it is the sheer urge of *song* in Goethe that eludes him. But the bitter humor, the self-satirical complexity, the amphisbaenic movement of the poem, are followed with the taut awareness they demand. Kaufmann does not adequately orchestrate the poem; but at least he understands it. He watches, line by line, the modern intellect watching its own explosion, the compelled and satiric mind playing Mephistopheles to its own Faustian longings.

G. WILLS

ANY BOOK reviewed in this Book Section—or any other current book—is yours for no more than the bookstore price. We pay all postage and handling charges. Worldwide service, catalogue on request.

THE BOOKMAILER, INC.
Box 101—Murray Hill Station
New York 16, New York

The Complete Bookstore-by-Mail representing all U.S. publishers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Q How many CONSERVATIVES will graduate from college this year?

A That depends on YOU!

Is the answer correct? Yes—to a very large extent. For while it is true that conservatives have begun an amazing campus revival, it remains a fact that the dominant influence in today's academic life is still Liberal. Students know this—and parents worry about it. That, we feel certain, is why so many students have already taken advantage of NATIONAL REVIEW's new Academic Year Offer, and why so many relatives and friends are sending NATIONAL REVIEW to students. They know that only the well-informed and prepared student can maintain the all-important balanced view—and that NATIONAL REVIEW is an invaluable aid to students both in and out of the classroom.

Any student is eligible to receive NATIONAL REVIEW for the entire Academic Year—from September to June—for only $3.89. Parents or friends can give subscriptions to students at the same low rate!*

Please Hurry:
This Offer Expires September 4

If you are a student, don't pass up this opportunity to have NATIONAL REVIEW this year at the lowest price ever (only about 10¢ a week!). If you know students who should be reading the magazine, send it to them. But don't delay: subscriptions received now will be sure to include every issue in the academic year. And NO subscriptions postmarked later than Labor Day, September 4, will be accepted at this special low rate.

What to do if you don't yet know your college address . . .

Send in the order card anyway—now. On the line marked "College," just print "Will supply later." List your present address (for filing and reference). Then, when you send us the college address, your subscription will be ready for immediate processing, so that you won't miss a single issue of the Academic Year. So act now, to be sure to have your order in before the deadline.

* *You may not personally know students who need NATIONAL REVIEW—but we do. NATIONAL REVIEW has a list of students who simply cannot afford to subscribe. Won't you make it possible for one or more of them to receive it this year? If you wish, we will send a handsome gift card in your name. Then we will bill you later at the special $3.89 rate.*

USE THE HANDY ORDER CARD FACING THIS PAGE—DROP IT IN THE MAIL TODAY!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOWARD CITY STATE BANK

Howard City, Michigan

A Conservative Bank

Bank by mail with us—postage is paid both ways. 3% paid on savings certificates. Deposits insured up to $10,000.

BALLOU INC.
Manufacturers' Representatives

OUR PRINCIPALS

AirBorn Connectors, Inc.—Dallas, Texas
Precision engineered electronic connectors.

Heinemann Electric Co.—Trenton, N.J.
Molded case circuit breakers, overload and time delay relays.

E. V. Naybor Labs., Inc.—Port Washington, N.Y.
Time delay relays, overload relays, Solenoids and position indicators.

Nelson Electric Mfg. Co.—Tulsa, Okla.
Switchgear, control centers, explosion-proof equipment, unit substations.

51 North Broad St., Ridgewood, N.J.
NYCity WOrth 4-4640 N.J. GIlbert 4-6990

$ $ $ $ $ $ $ $ $ $

SMALL CORPORATIONS
Increase your profits

The key men who produce your profits are your best investment. An executive-deferred compensation plan is the best management-development incentive. It may include stockholder employees. Our nationally known firm will show you how such a plan will increase your profits at least two ways. Plans tax-deductible. Pension Trust & Profit Sharing Plans Services. Phone or write

Mason Klinck
400 Park Ave., New York City 22

$ $ $ $ $ $ $ $ $ $

FREE COURSE IN ECONOMICS

Offered as a Public Service
By Correspondence
Also Classes in Many Cities

A study that will help you understand today's trend in business, labor and taxes. Mail coupon TODAY

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL, Dept. N.
Chartered by Univ. of State of N. Y.
50 E. 69th St., New York 21, N. Y.
Please send me further information about your FREE courses in economics.
Name .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone .... State .....

To the Editor

Liberal Catholicism

To Brent Bozell's masterful dissection of Fr. Dunne, S. J. [August 12], a weary but appreciative "Amen!" . . . The time was long overdue. . . .

Flushing, N.Y. E. F. CUMMERFORD

An inspired poet can catch and crystallize a profound truth. He can then express it for all those who may have grasped the truth but who lacked the gift of expression.

Just so Brent Bozell has plucked ut of the mass of verbiage and specious reasoning the heart of the matter concerning the cold war and has expressed it succinctly for all Christians: *"God's civilization* is involved."

Let our Liberal clergymen take note. Let us all thank Mr. Bozell.

Brooklyn, N.Y. RUTH KLEIN

Here now, Mr. Bozell, just a cotton-pickin' minute! What you say about "the strange drift of Liberal Catholicism" may be the shocking truth, but it is true that implementation of Liberal ideas by some Catholics does not mean an acceptance of Liberal doctrine, to paraphrase Eleanor somebody.

Lubbock, Tex. EUGENE R. SCIOLI

L. Brent Bozell seems to be sounding the tocsin—"the challenge to the Christian Churches is to define the issue in terms that will grip and galvanize the West, that will make the people of the West want to fight. . ."

Is that the modern challenge to the Christian Churches? Father Dunne is a "wrecker mentality" in a bad sense because he advocates destruction of a "social structure which creates, perpetuates or tolerates human misery anywhere"; yet the Christian Churches have failed in their duty because they have not made the "man in the street no less than a President—want to fight the way a man fights for his life or a citizen fights for his nation's life." Father Dunne conceivably might want a violent destruction, but Mr. Bozell certainly wants a war—that's the way a man fights for his life. And he insists that Churches should help foment it.

War would do the devil's work better and quicker even than it is being done. . . . Western civilization today isn't what needs saving—only souls, individual souls, need saving. If foreign aid, freedom rides, summit meetings—the whole apparatus of the modern welfare state (and that's still an IF)—will save souls, then the Christian Churches should be for these things. . . .

Cincinnati, Ohio CARL R. STEINBICKER

One can sympathize with Mr. Bozell's concern over a Jesuit priest's virtual defense of Communism. Those of us in the Protestant fold are likewise perturbed by religious leaders who, in Mr. Bozell's words, have allowed themselves to become the moralizing arm of Liberal ideology. But this article is far more than a penetrating critique of the extremist religious Liberals; it is a brilliant, utterly devastating refutation of the whole Liberal position in general, and of some of the most popular of the contemporary Liberal shibboleths in particular.

New York, N.Y. GEORGE WEISS

Let us hope that L Brent Bozell's brilliant analysis of the vagaries of the Liberal Catholic will herald a new epoch in American Catholicism. Certainly it is long overdue. The Catholic camp followers of the Left can hardly claim to speak for the majority of their co-religionists; yet one could scarcely guess this from the tone of the Catholic press in recent years. The times cry out for a Catholic journal of opinion that draws its inspiration from the lessons of the past, the dangers of the present, and the hard reality of original sin.

Pelham Manor, N.Y. NEIL MCCAFFREY

"Not a Sixpence!"?

Congratulations on another fine issue [August 12]. However, I must confess that according to the sources available to me, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney did not say "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" as you quote him in your able allusion to his kinship with General Edwin A. Walker on page 73.

Samuel Flagg Bemis states in his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Diplomatic History of the United States, that Pinckney actually said "No. No. not a sixpence!" On the other hand, Thomas A. Bailey, in his *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, declares, "This slogan was erroneously attributed to Pinckney. Throughout his life he denied its authorship. . . ."

Therefore, although these sources disagree, neither give your quote. While your point is well made, apparently your quote is incorrect.

Johnson City, Tenn. KENNETH E. LEE

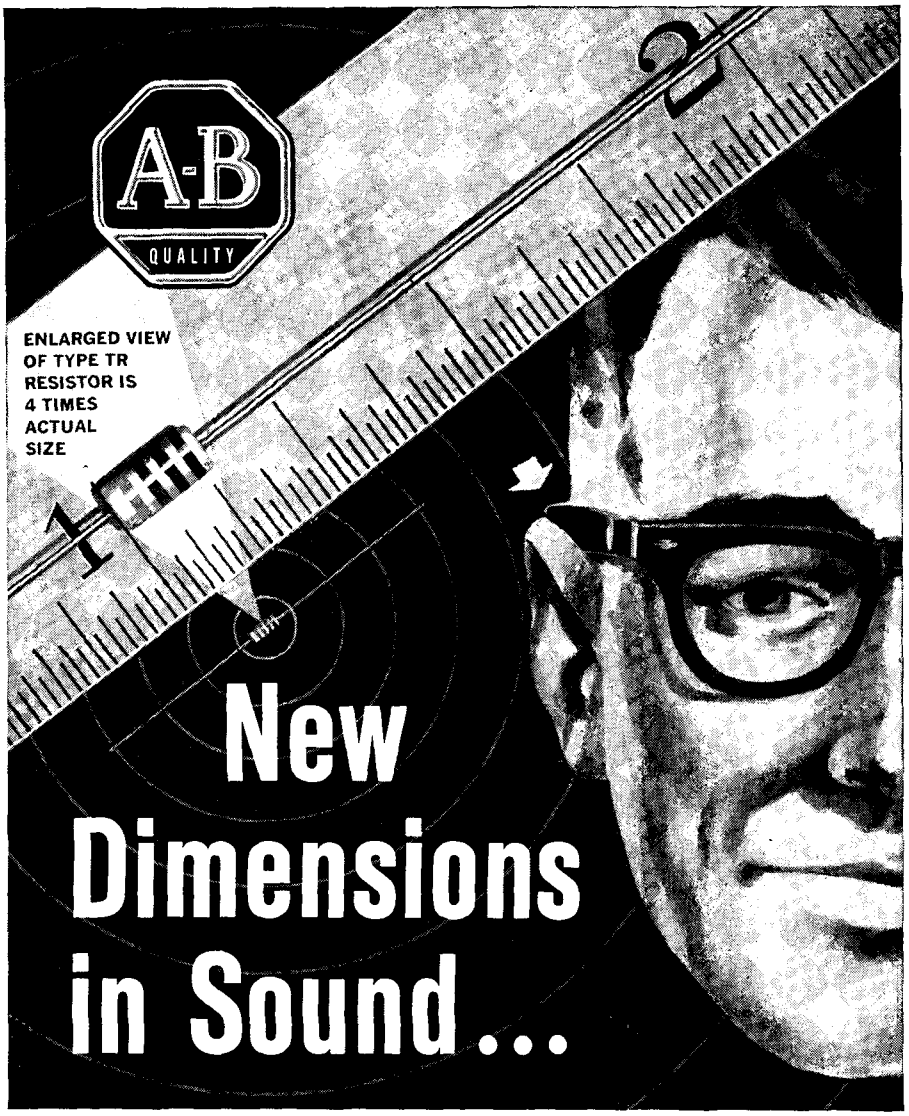
You might try Bartlett's Familiar Quotations. — ED.

Clarification

The letter from Mr. Joseph Leonard concerning the Donnell branch of The New York Public Library [July 1] has just been brought to my attention. We shall be grateful if we may have an opportunity to offer our reply to your readers.

Far from "getting nervous" about the influence of the NATIONAL REVIEW, as Mr. Leonard sugests, the Library makes this publication widely available. We have a complete file of the magazine from volume 1 through volume 10, November, 1955 through July, 1961 in the Periodical Division of the central library. In addition, we have a file, not quite as complete (though it is complete in recent years), in the Reference Room of the Donnell Library Center, 20 West 53rd Street. Further, we have it in the Reference Room of the Fordham Library Center, 2556 Bainbridge Avenue, the Bronx; at the Kingsbridge Branch, 280 West 231st Street, the Bronx: in the Mosholu Branch, 285 East 205th Street, the Bronx; and in the Westchester Square Branch, 2521 Glebe Avenue, the Bronx, which we think gives a fairly good coverage for that borough. On Staten Island, we have the NATIONAL REVIEW in the St. George Library Center, 10 Hyatt Street. Manhattan, the Bronx, and Staten Island are the only three boroughs of New York which are under the jurisdiction of The New York Public Library.

I have just made a check of every branch where the NATIONAL REVIEW is received and find that, in all cases, the periodical is displayed on the open shelves except for the one branch on which Mr. Leonard focused his attention. It is indeed true that the Donnell branch hasn't room for



ALLEN-BRADLEY TYPE TR RESISTORS
are STANDARD for today's miniaturized hearing aids

Because of the engineering ingenuity of the manufacturers, hearing aids have become so tiny they are hardly noticeable—since the principal objection to wearing a hearing aid has been overcome, ever increasing thousands are enjoying this remarkable contribution to the joy of hearing.

Allen-Bradley is proud to play a part in this important development. The extremely tiny Type TR fixed resistor (actually smaller than a grain of rice) is used by virtually every hearing aid manufacturer to help achieve today's amazing miniaturization—without sacrificing reliability!

Tiny as they are, these miniature resistors—made by Allen-Bradley's exclusive hot molding process—*have never experienced catastrophic failure in service*. They are remarkably "uniform" to their resistance rating. Therefore, you are only fair to yourself—and your customers—when you insist on the reliability of the A-B Type TR resistors.

For complete details, please send for Technical Bulletin 5001, and Publication 6024 which also includes information on other A-B space-saving electronic components.

ALLEN-BRADLEY
QUALITY ELECTRONIC COMPONENTS

Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 South Third Street, Milwaukee 4, Wisconsin
In Canada: Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd., Galt, Ont.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED

NATIONAL REVIEW ACCEPTS

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. NATIONAL REVIEW *reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, and of course will not knowingly accept an advertisement from any Communist, fascist, or racist advertiser. Readers should bear in mind, however, that it is impossible for* NATIONAL REVIEW *to investigate the subject-matter or sponsorship of every advertisement acceptable on its face. Rates per insertion: 40¢ per word, minimum 10 words. If a box number is desired count two extra words. Text, accompanied by full payment in the form of cash, check or money order, must be received 17 days before publication date. All responses to box numbers will be forwarded and postage billed periodically. Mail to be called for at* NATIONAL REVIEW *will be held 60 days only. Address: Classified Dept.,* NATIONAL REVIEW, *150 East 35th Street, New York 16, N. Y.*

LITERARY

LOCATE any book. Best prices. Aardvarks, Box 668-N, San Diego 12, California.

BOOKS LOCATED—Any subject. Put our vigorous search service to work! You'll like our prices and fast, no-obligation service. BOOKMARK, Box 68Y, Mt. Clemens, Michigan.

HARD TO FIND BOOKS LOCATED. All subjects. Herbert Biblo-NR, 1435 East 60th Place, Chicago 37, Illinois.

BOOKS: Catalogue of Paper Backs in print $2.00. Box 26, National Review.

JOBS AND JOB HUNTERS

COMPETENT YOUNG MAN, 24, married, seeks employment in New York City area. Business, economics, accounting and financial education. Graduate student in Government. One year teaching experience. Inactive military reserve. Write Box 46, National Review.

FREEDOM RADIO COMMENTATOR. Free hand. Earn. Choosy. Positive. Want sponsor. Write 42, National Review.

NATIONAL REVIEW needs industrious male to work in Subscription Department. Must type 60 words per minute. Female also needed in Circulation Department. Some typing. Call OR 9-7330, or Write Box CM, National Review.

BRIGHT, ALERT, CREATIVE young woman devoted to conservative principles, desires challenging position with conservative publication or organization. Well educated. Background includes: advertising, promotion, publicity, public relations. If position sufficiently stimulating monetary remuneration need not be commensurate with advertiser's ability.

TRAVEL

INDIAN CAVE LODGE AND COTTAGES, LAKE SUNAPEE 33, N.H. Family resort. Directly on lake. Planned recreation. Swimming pool. Delicious meals. Cocktails. $60 up/week. Folder.

CASEY KEY NEAR NOKOMIS FLORIDA in lovely surroundings. Gulf in front, lagoon at back, eminently comfortable 2-bedroom house for rent Nov. to May $1900. Consult Frances E. Murphy, Realtor, Venice, Florida.

HOTEL UTAH & MOTOR LODGE, Salt Lake City, Utah. A choice of either hotel or motel accommodations overlooking famed Temple Square, the Mormon Temple and Tabernacle. New Sky Room restaurant with decor by Dorothy Draper. Write for folders.

INVESTMENTS

DO YOU INVEST? For prompt, courteous service and convenient midtown stock brokerage facilities, phone Leon Weil, Co-manager, Steiner Rouse & Company, MU 2-0300, Lexington and 41st St., New York City. Members New York Stock Exchange.

SEEKING INVESTOR. Active or inactive. Flair for international affairs. Industrial diamonds from mine to markets. For information write Box 71, National Review.

REAL ESTATE

Farms, estates, village & country houses, acreage. M. L. Burnham, Kent, Conn. WA 7-3117.

MANHATTAN APARTMENT: Cooperative in fully-serviced, gentle, middle-aged building on 57th Street just off Sutton Place. 6½ rooms, in beautiful condition. Fireplace, bookshelves, air-conditioners, dishwasher, picture moldings, etc. Good tax deduction on monthly maintenance of $225. Price, $28,500. Write or call A. P. Mooney, Box 112, RFD 3, Huntington, N. Y. Area code 516, AR 1-0153.

SPEAKERS

AVAILABLE FOR LIMITED SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS during 1961 season: Wm. F. Buckley Jr., Frank S. Meyer, Wm. A. Rusher. Write to M. Catherine Babcock, Inc., 110 Thomas Lane, Virginia Beach, Virginia, for details.

ORGANIZATIONAL

CONSERVATIVES! Help block leftist measures, and support sound ones, by sending skillfully-aimed and carefully-timed letters to key Congressmen, newspapers, etc. Join Public Action, Inc.—the fast-growing legislative service that keeps an eye on bills before the Congress and alerts conservatives when it's time to act. Just $2 a year will show you how to Get Results from your government. Send check or money order to Dept. N, Public Action, 131 East 69th St., New York 21, New York.

GOLDWATER in '64. Colorful buttons you'll be proud to wear. Help your fellow Americans make the right choice. 4 for $1.00. Order several for yourself and friends today. Benedict T. Kedzuf, P. O. Box 10771, Pittsburgh 3, Pennsylvania.

BEAUTIFUL "VOTE CONSERVATIVE" BUTTON mailed anywhere. 25¢. Hudson Conservatives, 56 Second Ave., Secaucus, New Jersey.

CENTRAL QUEENS YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB presents the films "Communism on the Map" plus "Operation Abolition" at American Legion Post 298, 88-24 43rd Avenue, Elmhurst, New York, Sunday, August 27, 3 p.m. Admission: $1.00. Refreshments. For information call Mrs. Baecher, TW 9-8938.

ATTENTION LONG ISLAND RESIDENTS: Nassau Young Americans for Freedom anti-Red China Rally, Sept. 7, 8 p.m. Garden City Hotel, $1.00. Speakers: Rep. Becker; Roland H. D. Liem, permanent mission of the Republic of China to the UN; Rev. Edward L. Curran, International Catholic Truth Society. Special showing of new and important "Formosa Today" movie in color. Write Nassau YAF, 4237 Ludwig Lane, Bethpage, New York.

GOLDWATER lapel tabs (black on gold): 25 for $1.00; 100 for $3.00; 500 for $10.00; 1000 for $15.00. COFAM, Box 475, Troy, N.Y.

CONSERVATIVES! ADVERTISE! USE 4¢ U. S. Robert Taft stamps on your correspondence. UNAVAILABLE at Post Offices. Hurry—supply limited. Sheet (70) $3.50. William Lindberg, Box 241, Olympia, Washington.

GOLDWATER IN '64—Colorful Bumper Stickers, minimum 3 for $1.00. Lon Russell, 84 Brookside Pl., New Rochelle, New York.

NEW YORK CITY CONSERVATIVES! Your help is urgently needed to assure Conservative victories in several Republican primaries. Enrolled Republicans living in Manhattan or Bronx, please phone MU 8-6634 today or write: Young Conservative Campaign Committee, 16 West 58th Street, New York City.

THE DELAWARE DEFENDERS OF THE REPUBLIC, BOX 2042, WILMINGTON 99, DELAWARE will mail free their action leaflet which can be adapted for other conservative groups.

MISCELLANEOUS

ANTI-COMMUNIST TRACTS. (1) "Why We Are Losing" (2) "Raising the Minimum Wage" (3) "Facsimile of Letter to Senator Goldwater" (4) "Review & Comment" (5) "Facsimile Letter to Congressman Judd" (6) "Two More Yaltas"* (7) "Actions Speak Louder"* (8) "Warning."* 15¢ each. (*20¢) Public Opinion, Box 44N, Long Island City 4, New York.

COMPLETE INDEXED FILES of the 1960 UNESCO Reports now available. $2.50 each. Write F. F. Lyons, P. O. Box 215, Montrose, Calif.

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP, self-hypnosis, prayer-plant experiments! Details, catalog FREE. Research Association, Box 24-NL, Olympia, Washington.

103 DIVERSIFIED British Empire stamps, 10¢. Approvals. Niagara Stamps, St. Catharines 514, Ontario.

NEEDED URGENTLY: Back issues of National Review, Vol. I, Nos. 1 through 10; Vol. II, Nos. 8 and 11. Will pay 50¢ per copy, in reasonably good condition. Send direct to: Charles J. McHugh, National Review, 150 East 35 Street, New York 16, N. Y. You may request payment in stamps, if desired.

WANT BRIGHTER MORNINGS? Get up and live with "Lift." Harmless, non-habit forming. 10 tablets $1.00. C. Andrews, P.O. Box 228, Chagrin Falls, Ohio.

105 DISSIMILAR British Colony stamps, 10¢. Approvals. Crown Stamp Company, Virgil 615, Ontario.

Everybody's reading THE AMERICAN PURPOSE, monthly newsletter. Liberals hate it. $1 per year. Dept. N-1, Box 75341, Los Angeles 5, California.

INTERESTED IN MONEY? Have something interesting, humorous to discuss on TV? Call Miss Garrett, YU 6-3535 NYC before 6 pm. weekdays.

OLD LETTERS WANTED. Authors, statesmen, scientists, military leaders, musicians, etc. Correspondence or single items bought and sold. Established 1887. Catalogues on request. Write Box 73, National Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

displaying every magazine it receives. Even so, the NATIONAL REVIEW had been displayed for the past year or more, until readers began to complain that the magazine was being mutilated—pages torn out or clipped. In order to protect the publication and to be able to offer readers a whole issue, not an abbreviated one, it was withdrawn from display, still remaining, of course, readily available to anyone who filled out a call slip for it. Examples of other magazines which have been dealt with in the same manner are *Fortune, Saturday Evening Post* and ***Barron's.***

Thus, instead of discouraging readers from using the NATIONAL REVIEW, we are trying to assure their having access to unmutilated copies.

New York City ANNA L. GLANTZ
Chief, Public Relations Office

Religion in The Netherlands

As a new subscriber who has read most of Russell Kirk's articles on education with approval, it was a shock to read his superficial analysis of religion in The Netherlands ["Empty Churches," August 12]. His facts were not accurate and his implications showed ignorance of the deep and widespread influence of religion in Dutch life. . . . If religion is on the decline in The Netherlands, we should be discriminating enough to praise her for not having gone nearly as far as Scandinavia, England, or Scotland. . . .

The statement that there are few other churches than the Old and New Churches in Amsterdam is just plain wrong—even if Mr. Kirk meant only Dutch Reformed (Calvinistic) churches. . . . Other Reformed churches within easy walking distance of the New Church are the West Church and the North Church. There are also St. Nicolaas and the Walloon Church in the central part of the city. Catholic churches include Antony, Xavier, Joannes, Our Lady, Sacred Heart, Willibrod and others. Is it too much to say that Mr. Kirk's opening paragraph was totally misleading?

Despite the number of churches in Amsterdam, I would agree with the observer who sees less influence of faith there than in the majority of Dutch cities. But this still makes Mr. Kirk's second assertion, that Amsterdam is typical of northern cities, wrong. Throughout the world, the largest cities evince the least faith, and Amsterdam is the largest Dutch city. But let the interested traveler go to Utrecht, Arnhem, Nijmegen, Leeuwarden or Groningen, or many other medium-sized provincial cities, and he will see religion as a very active force, even to a degree that Americans would regard as harmful: for instance, to the point of determining what doctor, grocer, baker, etc. one goes to. These choices are made because people believe their views of man and the Church are right, not because of social custom alone.

The two most populous and commercial of the Dutch provinces, North and South Holland, are known to be less religious than the other eight, but it is safe to say that they too are closer to their churches than comparable urban areas in Scandinavia, England, or Scotland.

Whether or not The Netherlands is slowly going down the road to secularism, she is still the outstanding example of a highly industrialized republic deeply rooted in the Western Christian tradition. Crime is very low there because of the strength of the faith in the past. . . .

Mr. Kirk could have justly given at least one example for emulation in his otherwise somber article, if he had pointed to the strength of faith in The Netherlands in contrast to the other nations he mentioned.

Princeton, N. J. D. S. CHAMBERLAIN

Pocket Guide Suggested

It has occurred to me that what America needs is an inexpensive pocket book on how to tell a Liberal from a Communist. The publication of such a book could work wonders. Public speakers could know whereof they speak; newspaper reporters could get their stories straight; and candidates for office could know which cause to espouse, and which to come out against.

Perhaps, after careful study of such a book, we might learn that Khrushchev isn't really a Communist after all, but only one of the more liberal Liberals; we might come to know that Mao Tse-tung is neither Liberal nor Communist, but merely an agrarian reformer; and we might learn that some fronts, condemned for years by informed Americans as Communist fronts, have been only Liberal fronts, actually.

The trouble is that as things now stand, it is just too hard for the ordinary citizen to tell the difference between what the Communists are promoting, and what is only a Liberal cause. The situation reminds me of the story my mother used to tell us about the time she walked into the kitchen and saw their cook, old Aunt Caroline, dancing as she mopped the floor with a rag under her feet. Aunt Caroline was humming a tune with perfect rhythm (naturally) and bouncing across the floor in perfect time with the beat of the tune. Mother, then a little girl, said, "Why, Aunt Caroline, I do believe you're dancing!" Somewhat taken aback at being seen, Aunt Caroline replied, "Me, a sistren in de church, dancin'? . . . I was doin' like dis," and she danced a jig. "Now, if I'd been doin' like dis," and she danced the same jig, "I'd been dancin'."

This country doesn't really need a five-cent cigar. What it needs is someone who can make the distinction between a Liberal cause and a Communist cause. Someone like Aunt Caroline.

Baton Rouge, La. JAMES H. WARE

Don't miss the plane!

. . . or your boat. Don't arrive to find your favorite hotel full. Travel the easy, modern way—have everything waiting for you—let Margaret Cone make all your reservations now. Whether you are on business or vacation, you should enjoy yourself. And you *will* if you contact

MARGARET CONE TRAVEL SERVICE
Dept. R-1, 520 Fifth Ave.
New York 36, N.Y.
Tel. OXford 7-0796

If You Are Under 80 You Are Not Too Old For Life Insurance

Let us tell you how you can still apply for a $1,000 life insurance policy to help take care of final expenses without burdening your family.

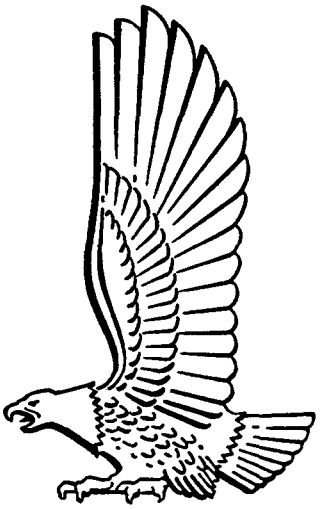
Even though you are in your 50's, 60's, or 70's you likely need and want life insurance coverage just as much as anyone else.

So tear out this ad and mail it today with your name, address and year of birth to Old American Insurance Company, 4900 Oak, Dept. L842C, Kansas City, Mo.

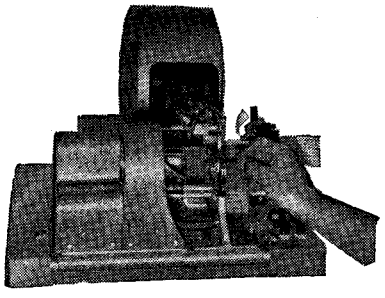
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indeed the Government is, among other things, the largest electric power producer in the country, the largest insurer, the largest insured, the largest lender and the largest borrower, the largest landlord and the largest tenant, the largest holder of grazing land, the largest holder of timberland, the largest owner of grain, the largest warehouse operator, the largest ship owner, and the largest truck fleet operator. For a nation which is the citadel and the world's principal exponent of private enterprise and individual initiative, this is a rather amazing list.

—Rowland Hughes
U.S. Budget Director, 1955



The wolf of socialism wears the clothing of sheep of many breeds. Whether in the guise of farm subsidies, socialized medicine, or government operation of business—each takes away a bit more of our rights as individuals . . . moves us a step further down the road to the slavery of socialism. As individuals and as a Company, we distrust any scheme, whether private or by government, which seeks to take from the dignity of the individual and the freedom of his enterprise. *The philosophy we try to practice in our Company is to encourage individual responsibility and to reward individual accomplishment.*



W. H. Brady Co. manufactures a broad line of self-sticking identification products, and automatic machines to apply them. The Brady Markermatic Marking Machine is illustrated.

W. H. BRADY CO.

791 West Glendale Avenue, Milwaukee 9, Wisconsin
Specialists in Surface Chemistry • Est. 1914

3a

Italian Problem

I read the "Letter from the Continent" entitled "Trouble Ahead in Italy" [July 15] by E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn with interest.

This article is many years late. The present problem relates to the deep materialism accepted by all both in and out of the government. The greatest threat to that nation today is the continual acceptance by all in Italy of one Enrico Mattei [head of Italy's nationalized oil company].

Washington, D.C. EDNA F. KELLY
House of Representatives

THE GRINSLINGERS

(Continued from p. 122)

swallow, fell into a violent fit of coughing. It was a minute before he could speak.

"*Pay for his own whiskey!* Why, that—that's downright un-Western, that's whut it is!" he spluttered.

"Yuh know, Rocky, it occurs to me that we'd be makin' a mistake shootin' at each other. I been hearin' 'bout a feller down Arizona way who's been goin' around tellin' folks that they oughta pay fer their own whiskey, an' grub, and *ever'thin'!* I'm on muh way there now."

"Why, he ain't wuth shootin', Kid! Ain't nobody goin' to listen to that kind o' talk! Ain't nobody goin' to pay fer somethin' if'n he kin get it free off somebody else."

The Hyannis Port Kid shook his head sadly. "That's whut I figgered, too, Rocky, but it looks like people *are* listenin' to this Arizona feller. An' if enough people start believin' him, it's gonna make it mighty tough fer folks like us. Now, suppose you an' me —"

"We sorta put up a yew-nited front?" Rocky finished. "Feller," he beamed, throwing his arm around the Kid's shoulder, "I want to be yore friend!"

The old-timer watched them walk out of the New Frontier, arms around one another's shoulders, and he stared after them in awe. He rubbed his eyes, blinked, and stared again, and still could not believe what he saw. But it was true, and the others noticed it too, and were equally dumbfounded. From the back, try as they might, no one in the New Frontier could tell Rocky and the Hyannis Port Kid apart.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The UNIVERSITY BOOKMAN

History Texts: Partisan or Objective?

In the summer number of *The University Bookman* Felix Wittmer, an Associate Professor of History at C. W. Post College, reviews *A Short History of American Democracy* by University of California Professors John D. Hicks and George Mowry.

Professor Wittmer finds the book to be "a credit to the type of sound scholarship which the American historical profession has developed in less than a century. Its organic interpenetration of economic and political data, enhanced by ethnic and sociological interpretation, supplies the reader with material which the responsible citizen ought to acquire, and stimulates his independent thinking. This is a worthwhile text . . ."

"Yet," Professor Wittmer continues, ". . . this book, like dozens of others, to another generation will appear to be not searching enough, if not downright superficial, in its approach to contemporary problems . . .

"Is it possible that Professors Hicks and Mowry, so solid and penetrating in their historical survey, have merely expressed the distortions, half-truths, and wilful omissions of now prevailing and 'established' opinion . . .?"

"The question arises whether it is proper for our textbook writers to let their personal views color a presumably objective history-text . . ."

Every *National Review* subscriber receives *The University Bookman free.* Others may subscribe at two dollars a year for the four issues. Write the Editor, *The University Bookman*, Box 3070, Grand Central Station, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INTERCONNECTING AND POOLING:

NEWS ON "POWER GRIDS" FROM THE PEOPLE WHO INVENTED THEM

Great electric "power grids" are much in the news today. The idea goes back more than 40 years to the first Interconnecting and Pooling of power by the investor-owned electric companies.

Thanks to such pioneering, the investor-owned companies today have thousands of miles of lines and billions of dollars worth of plants connected to bring America a new dimension in low-cost, dependable electric service.

These networks are in every section of the country and growing very fast. They benefit millions of homes and businesses by helping keep electric rates low, and making your electric service ever more dependable.

If an emergency shuts down one plant in such a power "pool," users may never even know it. Electricity is instantly brought in from other plants—across hundreds of miles, if necessary.

There is no need for the companies to build expensive duplicate facilities to make sure an ample reserve of electricity is on hand. A city, for example, may need most of its electric power in the wintertime. A lumbering area hundreds of miles away has its peak demand in summer. So the investor-owned companies exchange power as needed—keeping costs down, keeping electric rates low.

Interconnecting and Pooling helps individual communities... vast areas... whole states... the entire nation. It is a major reason why the investor-owned electric companies can supply all the additional electricity America will need.

Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies | *Keep America Powerful*

Company names on request through this magazine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED